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BASIC ATTITUDES EXPLORED
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I N T R O D U C T I O N

A questionnaire had been prepared by Dr. Krugman of Columbia University, at the behest of the War Department, designed to test the attitudes of prisoners of war. Tests were made on samples of prisoners at Halloran Hospital and at Camp Getty. The test was shown to distinguish sharply between the attitudes of selected "white" prisoners undergoing special training at Camp Getty and the run-of-the-mill prisoners found at Halloran Hospital.

This same questionnaire was given to a set of samples of populations in Germany. The samples were of the following: A. American Zone (1470 interviews); B. Berlin - American Sector (182 interviews); C. Youth aged 17 to 27 in Baden-Württemberg (295 interviews); D. Political prisoners to be detained in camp (84 interviews); E. Political prisoners to be released from confinement (95 interviews); F. Marburg Univeristy students (214 interviews).

The questionnaire was administered by trained German personnel, regular interrogators for Surveys Section, Intelligence Branch, Information Control Divison. In every instance the sample was selected at random ... samples A. and C. being first stratified on the basis of proportion of the population living within each Land, and within several categories of community size within each Land, and taking into account the religious distribution variant within the Land. Sample B was stratified by administrative district within the American Sector of Berlin. Names of individuals selected to answer the questionnaire were drawn for these three samples from the food ration cards within the areas defined. These names were the nth names in each ration card file selected. The last three samples of individuals were drawn at random (every nth name) from lists of names of the personnel incarcerated in a camp for political prisoners near Stuttgart and from a list representing the enrolled students at Marburg University.

The questionnaire contained 110 questions and was described as comprising eight sets of questions, each set probing into attitudes toward a generally defined area. The questions within seven of these sets were said to be "paired", that is, two questions were stated in a positive and a negative form as counterparts. These "pairs" were said to provide a test of consistency of reply.

The eighth set was composed of ten questions to which answers flattering to the occupation powers were possible. Replies to these questions were said to provide for an analysis of a test of the sincerity of the individuals answering the questionnaires. The questions comprising each of the sets were scrambled among all the other questions.

Each "question" was, in reality, a statement with which the respondents were asked to indicate agreement or disagreement. Following the 110 statements were a series of questions about the background characteristics of the individuals questioned. The answers to these questions were inspected by the supervisor administering the questionnaire to ensure completeness. At the same time he was instructed to glance through the answers given in the body of the questionnaire and to rectify omissions, by bringing these to the attention of the respondent.

In some cases, respondents were unable to take a stand for or against a statement. These responses were called "no opinion" replies, although there was no such answer to check on the questionnaire. They include failure or refusals to reply, written statements indicating no opinion, and qualifications of reply that did not fully accept one or another alternative offered. The size of this group varied markedly by the question asked -- from zero to about one-third of the population. The mean average "no opinion" for all 110 questions was about 9%.

As a first step in analysis of the results, the questions which were designed to test a particular complex attitude were examined as a group. The analysis proceeded along the lines developed by Guttmann, that is, a statistical test was applied to discover the scaling properties of each group of questions. It was possible to say, as a result of such an analysis, the degree of correlation which existed between the replies of a group of individuals to a set of questions. It could thus be determined whether or not the questions tested one attitude or diverse attitudes. The degree of interrelationship among the questions could be predicted with a probability statement. Of the 110 questions analysed in this manner, 51 were accepted as forming parts of scales of separate attitudes. It is the replies to these 51 statements which were used as the basis of the evidence presented below.

THE SCALES.

Eleven scales were finally established. These tested attitudes in the areas:

1) Family, Women, Children
2) Ethics, Justice (Social Responsibility)
3) Anti-Semitism
4) Projection of Guilt
5) Future of Germany (Supervised Responsibility)
6) Flattery (?)
7) War-Militarism
8) Government-Democracy Authority: Necessity of Political Information and Interest.

9) Government-Democracy-Authority:
Independent Thinking as a Value
10) Government-Democracy-Authority:
Fallible Leadership
11) Government-Democracy-Authority:
Independence and Rights of Individuals.

On the average, about three in ten individuals in the US Zone replied in the democratic direction on all 11 scales. One third more of the population answered favorably on all but one question within each scale. Forty percent, then, proved to have, on the average, a confused democratic-undemocratic outlook or to be undemocratic in the main.+

The replies to each of the scales fell into patterns (see charts I, II and III). The first group shows a constantly increasing proportion giving more and more democratic replies until about three in four respondents answered all or all but one of the questions in a democratic fashion. The second group is composed of three scales for which the peak of the curve occurs not with the largest proportion accepting all the questions but more nearly at the third quartile of the curve. In the third group of three scales the peak of the curve occurs still earlier. Since the fundamental importance of the "Flattery (?)" scale is evident it will be considered primarily and its relationship to the other scales will be established.

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+ The high "democratic" proportion is probably in part an artifact of the situation -- the scale questions did not include, unfortunately, a sufficient number of propositions inacceptable to large proportions of the populations. The overall-results, then, are perhaps less interesting than the relative scores of the various groups analysed below. Dr. Krugman wrote: "Normally, the attitude and truth scale would have been validated and standardized by the usual research methods. This was not possible in this instance..." The difficulties anticipated by Dr. Krugman have been met in this analysis.

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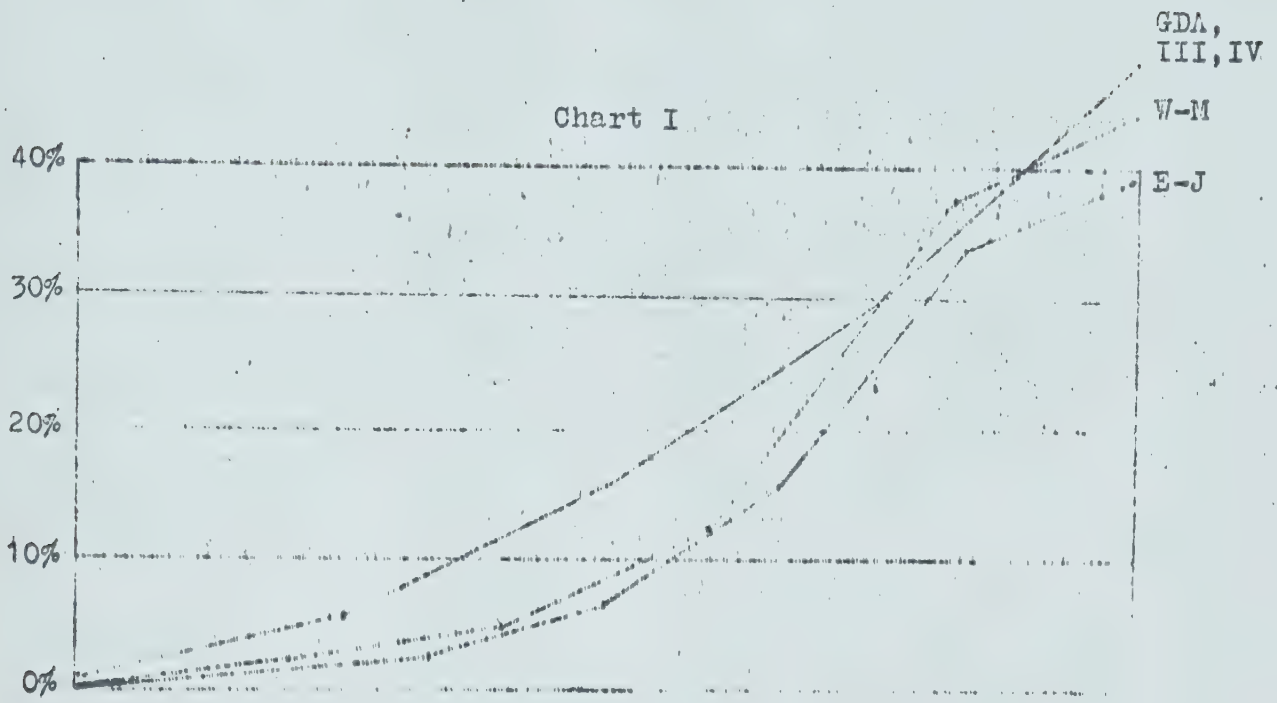
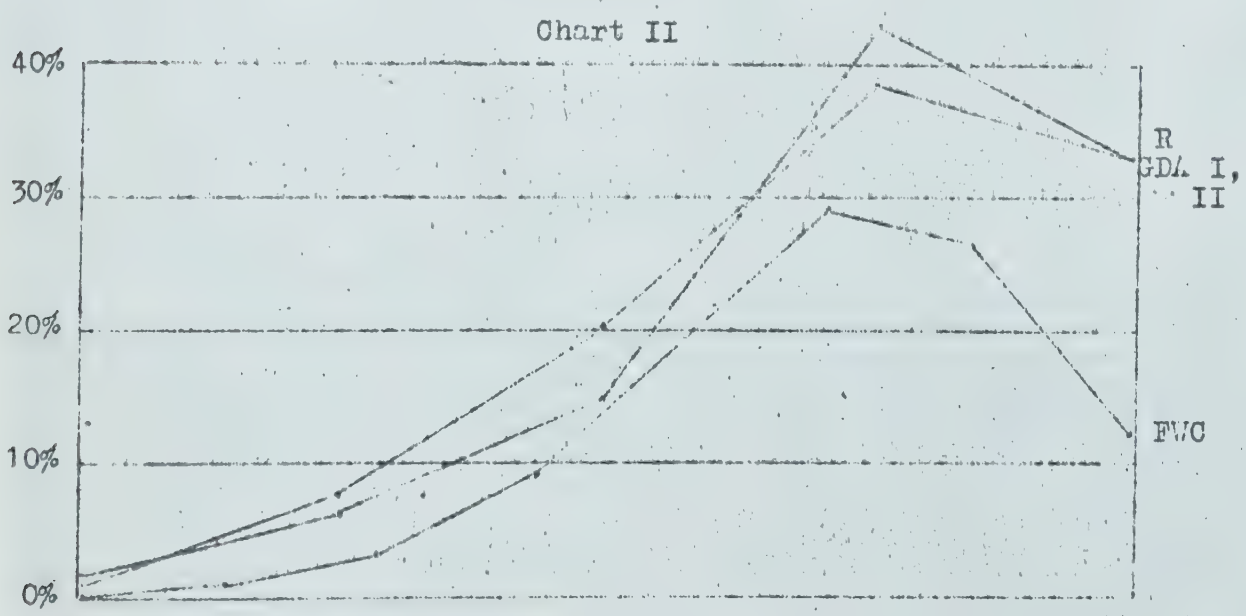
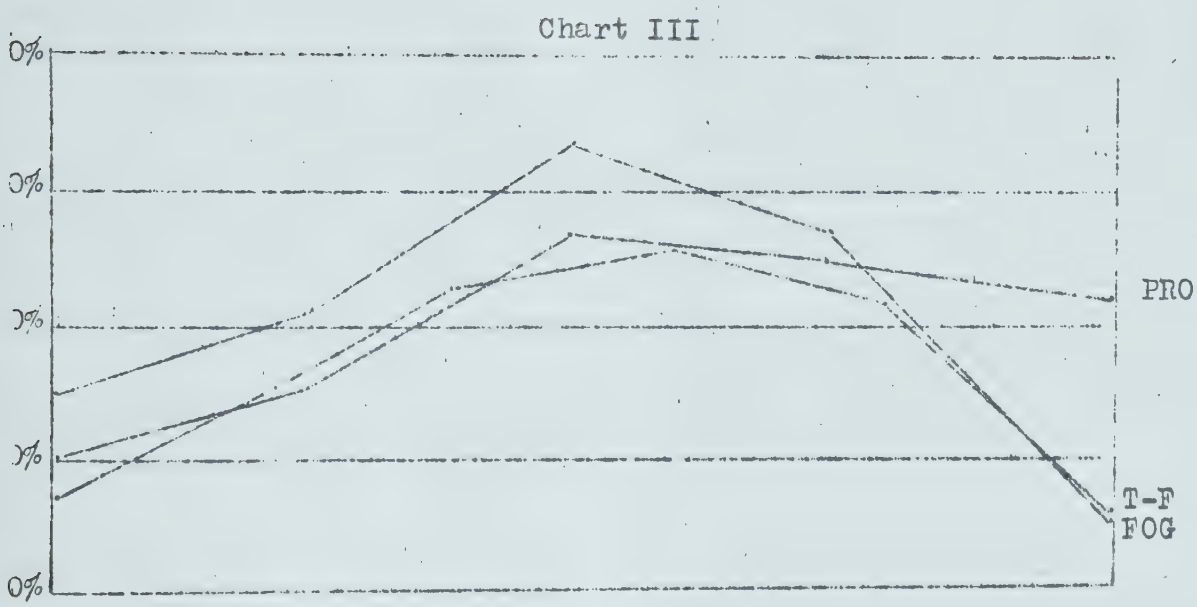




GDA = Government, Democracy, Authority
I = Necessity of Political Information
II = Independent Thinking as a Value
III = Fallible Leadership
IV = Independence and Rights of Individuals
W-M = War, Militarism
E-J = Ethics, Justice
R = Anti-Semitism
FWC = Family, Women, Children

Chart III



PRO = Projection of Guilt
T-F = "Flattery (?)"
FOG = Future of Germany

THE RUSULTS.

THE "FLATTERY (?)" SCALE.

Five questions were found to be rather highly correlated. Each of these "questions" was a statement which, reasonably, would be denied by any person who was unwilling to flatter the Allies or the Americans, or who was not suggestible, or who was forthright and frank, or who did not fear reprisals for an outspoken reply, or by one who was not politically compromised but who was critical of the occupation.

The five statements and the proportions disagreeing with each one in the sample of the American Zone population are shown in Table I.

Table I.

STATEMENTS USED TO TEST SINCERITY AND PROPORTIONS DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

	%
The air forces of the Allies bombed only military objectives in Germany	82
The Japanese killed by the atom bomb were criminals engaged in a conspiracy against the United States	58
Germany has no musical genius to compare with the American Deems Taylor	55
Allied soldiers have always acted correctly toward German civilians	42
Very few Germans have shown understanding or inclination toward democracy, as has been demonstrated during the last 50 years	22

+++ +++ +++

All five statements	6
Four only	22
Three only	26
Two only	23
One only	16
None	7
	100%

The hypothesis was stated by Dr. Krugman and his associates that the group which accepted, or did not deny, these statements tended to be insincere and untrustworthy. Among the "white" PsW specially screened for orientation courses at Camp Getty it was found that larger proportions could be called "trustworthy" than among the run-of-the-mill prisoners interviewed in Halloran Hospital. And it was also found that the more "trustworthy" PsW tended to hold more "democratic" attitudes as expressed on the other scales. In the introductory statements to this section it has been suggested that it is perhaps an oversimplification to describe attitudes on this scale as "trustworthy-untrustworthy".

Consistency of relationship between place on the "Flattery (?)" scale and place on the other scales is observable. However, this consistency is not always in the same direction, nor is it always entirely consistent.

Table II

"FLATTERY (?)" SCALE

	Number of Democratic Replies	7% 0	16% 1	23% 2	26% 3	22% 4	6% 5
Anti-Semitism	0-2	29	28	22	20	29	18
	3,4	71	72	78	80	71	82
Projection of Guilt	0-2	51	46	54	50	64	63
	3,4	49	54	46	50	36	37
Future of Germany	0-2	58	64	64	67	78	87
	3,4	42	36	36	33	22	13
War, Militarism	0-3	39	30	23	14	14	7
	4,5	61	70	77	86	86	93
Family, Women, Children	0-5	71	71	67	54	56	45
	0,7	29	29	33	46	44	55
Government, Democracy, Authority: Necessity of Political Information	0-2	57	47	30	21	25	12
	3,4	43	53	70	79	75	88
Independent Thinking As a Value	0-2	42	32	29	26	23	19
	3,4	58	68	71	74	77	81
Fallible Leadership	0-2	56	39	23	12	11	3
	3,4	44	61	77	88	89	97
Independence and Rights of Individuals	0-2	48	36	28	18	14	9
	3,4	52	64	72	82	86	91
Ethics, Justice	0-4	34	34	25	23	30	19
	5,6	66	66	75	77	70	81

The less inclined a respondent was to flatter the Allies the more was he likely to uphold democratic rights (tested by the four scales, "Government, Democracy, Authority") and the more likely he was to stand against militaristic values. A slight correlation in the same direction was observed with the anti-semitism scale. However, consistently fewer "trustworthy" persons did not cherish the future Germany as an occupied or supervised country even with large responsibility allotted to the German people. And while the relationship between the progressively more "trustworthy" groups and the scale of attitudes toward the projection of guilt was not consistent, it can be said that more of the <u>most</u> "trustworthy" than of the <u>less</u> "trustworthy" placed the responsibility for

the war and the horrors of the war upon shoulders other than Germany's. Large proportions of each group also accepted traditional standards of ethics and justice, but somewhat larger proportions of the more frank spoke out for these standards than of the less open respondents. A high correlation was observable, too, with attitudes toward familial customs, with a majority of the most straightforward accepting our standards, while only about three in ten of the least straightforward did likewise.

It should be noted that one of the "Flattery" groups among the six score groups was inconsistent in half the instances (five in ten) of correlation between the "Flattery(?)" scale and the other ten scales, (Table II). This group was the one which denied all but one of the statements when all should reasonably have been denied. The statement which this group, on the average, accepted was the charge that few Germans have shown an understanding or inclination toward democracy in the last 50 years. This statement was more frequently accepted by the well-educated, the middle-aged (20 - 40 years), by men and by non-NSDAP members. (N.B. A few more former PGs than non-PGs hold that there were more than a few democrats in Germany. Could this fact have worried them?) Although the differences between the responses of these groups and other population groups were not large, it can be said that the implications of this question probably were not seen by some rather well-disposed groups. It must be assumed, then, that within this score group there can be found more of those who were open and straightforward in general, but not keenly alert or highly intelligent.

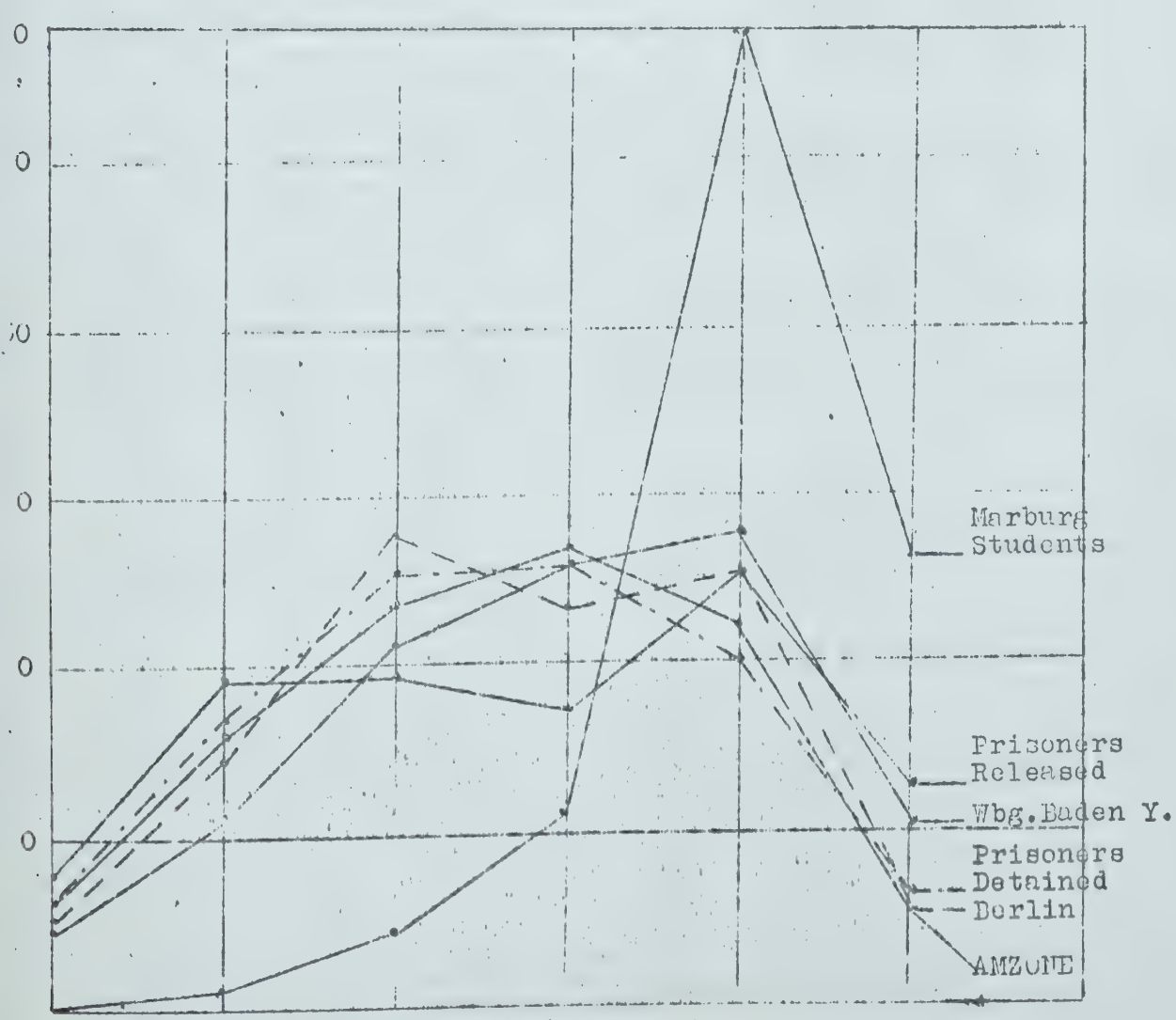
At this point, then, it should be noted that the more frank and outspoken group is characterized as holding the views, in general, that they were not responsible (nor were all Germans, therefore) for the holocaust and, indeed, that they are ready and capable of taking over the direction of Germany's affairs. In other words, "democratic" outlook as tested by the "trustworthiness" scale and correlated with other scales testing "democratic" outlook, is negatively correlated with the acceptance of responsibility for the war and acceptance of Allied supervision in the future. The definition of "trustworthiness", then, becomes more specific. Essentially the scale screens out those people who truthfully are critical of our activities and who are nationalistic opponents of Allied supervision of Germany. These people, infine, oppose the occupation.

At the other end of the scale, too, there may be people who exceed the bounds of assumption of guilt and, madly gullible, assume that all that the Allies are suggested to have done is good and can be credited to them. They might be called "trustworthy" in the sense of blind acceptance of obedience. Finally, among this group are to be found, it can be assumed, some bootlickers whose "trustworthiness" is a function of a well-defined situation and is perhaps easily predictable on that basis. To expect, then, that the "Flattery(?)" scale provides a test for loyalty seems to drive too

hard at what is actually accomplished by the test. What does seem to be achieved is a test of frankness of expression, a test of critical ability, a test of sophistication, a test of suggestibility, a test of broadness of outlook or frame of reference. However, some of these complexes of the scale are clarified upon examination of the distribution of various population groups along the scale.

Among the various populations sampled (considering for the moment the American Zone as one population) great and marked variation is observed between the replies of the Marburg students and the replies of any other group (see Chart IV). Over one-fourth (27%) of the students answered all five questions in a critical manner and nearly six in ten more (57%) failed to be blunt about only one statement. The nearest approximation to this score was found among the youth (17 to 27 years old) in Baden-Württemberg where nearly two-fifths (38% as opposed to 84% among the Marburg students) responded to all five or four of the five statements in the unflattering direction. And the released political prisoners made practically as good a record (37%).

Chart IV.
"Flattery(?)" Scale.



The population of the American Zone (28%) and the detained political prisoners (27%) were indistinguishable as to their expressions on these propositions.+

Within the American Zone other population groups were examined. Above and below average scores of some of these groups are shown in the table below.

Table III.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO THE "FLATTERY(?)" SCALE.
(Average Score: 28% Answered Four of the Five or All Five Statements in the Democratic Direction.)

Above Average Scores		Below Average Scores	
47%	Occupation: Professional	17%	Party Preference: KPD
43	Party Preference: LDP	17	Home: East Prussia
41	Non-PG, Family member was	18	Widowed
39	Soldier, non-PW	19	Home: Baden
37	Education: 12 or more years	20	Income weekly: 1-19 RM
39	Angestellter (Lower white collar)	18	Unemployed
36	Size of Town: 5 to 10,000	21	Residence: Baden-Württemberg
36	Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich	21	Home: Württemberg
36	Catholic, irregular churchgoer	21	Age: 70 or older
37	Age: 20 to 29	21	Occupation: laborer
36	Income: 70 to 99 RM weekly		

This abbreviated table again demonstrates one of the facets of this scale: sophistication (professional workers vs. laborers); sullen bitterness among the widowed; broad frame of reference among the city dwellers; trained and organized thinking among the better educated; criticism by those secure from but affected by denazification (non-PG but family member was); respect for treatment by Allies (soldier non-PW); alertness (young people 20 to 29 years old); concealed resentment (evacuated East Prussians); apathy among the unemployed, the poor and the laborers; evasiveness among the followers of the KPD in spite of their admission of preference for that party.

+This remarkable situation -- that the American Zone population answered similarly to political prisoners detained in a compound -- needs a further statement. The political prisoners in this compound had just been screened for release or detention. Those who were about to be released were told so, those to be detained were embittered at the selection. In addition, the day before the test these men were shocked by the shooting of one of their company by a Polish guard in what reports indicated was an unjustifiable situation. The death of this individual had induced a hunger strike as an expression of protest against such treatment. The detainees, highly intelligent executive-type National-socialists, were ready to object as a body against American administration of the camp. It must be maintained either that hunger, tiredness, sullenness, and positive resentment clouded and colored the thinking of these well-educated upper- and upper-middle class leaders or that the general population of the Zone is not so much unintelligent and evasive as resentful and embittered.

In summary, then, it can be said that this scale seems to hold together somewhat disparate elements of disposition but that the most cohesive characteristic seems to be that of criticism. This criticism probably stems from different motivations and has different directions and its expression does not largely develop in any sizeable group among the population. Where it is sharpened by intellectual ability, organized thinking, sophistication, broadened outlook, the alertness of youth, security of economic status, resentment of the occupation, nationalistic feeling, and self-confidence -- that is, among the students of Marburg University it becomes an expressed characteristic of nearly all the members of the group. On the other hand, among those groups where apathy, sullenness, confusion, and lack of confidence are important characteristics, the proportion answering these questions in an acceptable direction is appreciably below that of the general population. But the general population, too, is found to exhibit characteristics and to hold dispositions not dissimilar from those held by the average hopeless and embittered political prisoner still held in camp.

ANTI-SEMITISM.

Four statements were found to be highly correlated in testing attitudes toward Jews. One of the statements was, indeed, a converse form of anti-semitism in that it offered the opportunity for the respondents to exhibit nationalistic pride. That such pride is related to anti-semitism is not surprising but it is important to recognize that it is intimately related.

Table IV.

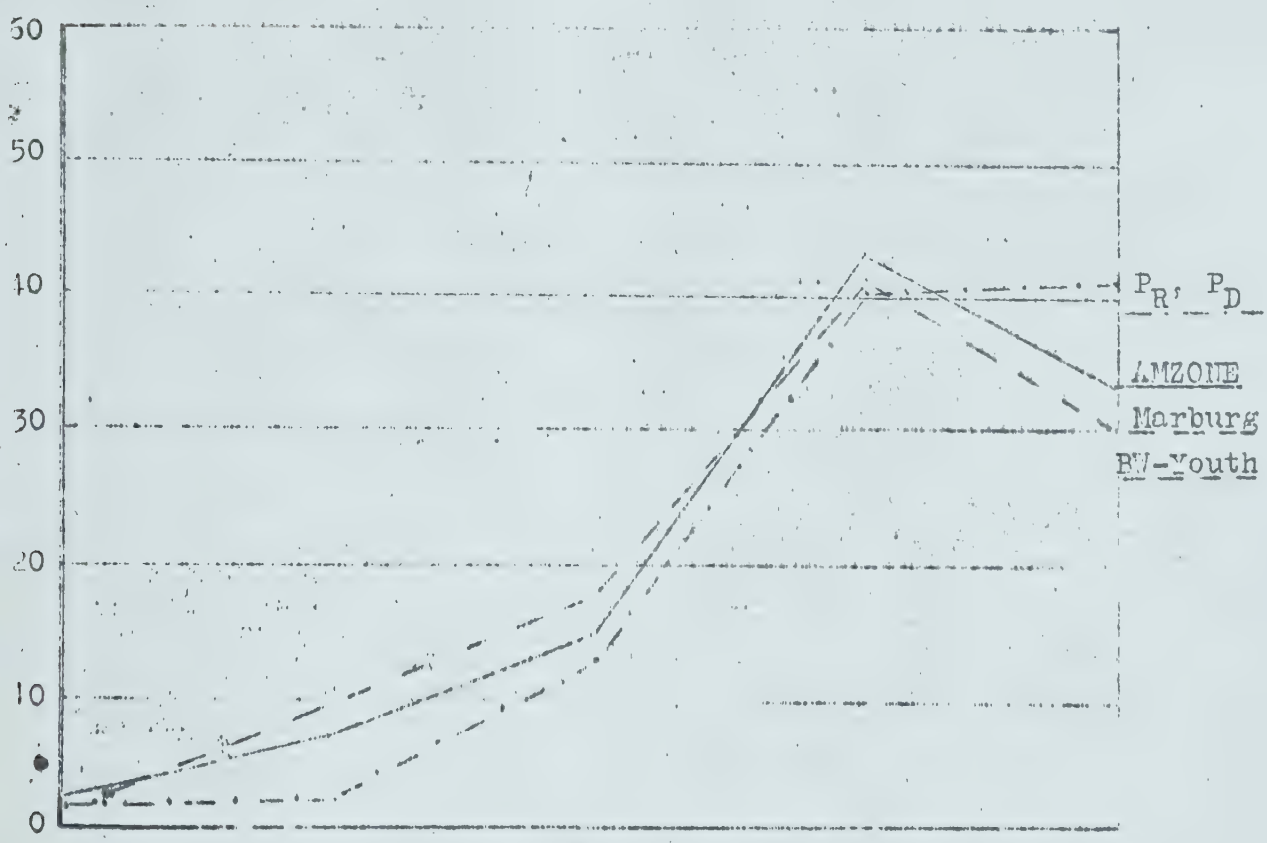
STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ANTI-SEMITISM AND PROPORTIONS OF "DEMOCRATIC" RESPONSES.

	%
A musical composition can be beautiful in spite of the racial background of the composer....	91
A true German should be judged and condemned if he marries a non-aryan woman	85
Jews deserve to have the same rights as members of the Nordic race	85
Germans are generally known as the best workers ..	39

+++ +++ +++

Democratic replies on all four statements	33
Democratic replies on only three statements	43
Democratic replies on only two statements	15
Democratic replies on only one statement	7
Democratic replies on none of the statements	2
	100%

Chart V.
Anti-Semitism Scale



From these data it must be maintained that a clear majority of the German public holds some appreciable degree of ethno-centrism, and that about one-third of the public must be said to be not obviously tainted with an anti-semitic disposition. Among the special sample groups, the released political prisoners formed the only group among whom at least as many replied in the democratic direction to all four questions as did so to only three (Chart V). Whereas the political detainees seemed slightly less anti-semitic than did the general population, the Marburg students scarcely varied from the average German in their reactions to this test. However, the youth in Baden-Württemberg did show decidedly more frequently anti-semitic traces than were shown by members of the other groups.

Other population groups examined within the population of the American Zone, revealed some informative differences. Whereas residents of Baden-Württemberg and of Bavaria scarcely differed at all in their attitudes toward Jews, Hessians more

frequently maintained the nationalist proposition that German workers are better than any other. This pride may well stem from the characteristically higher development of industrialization found in this area of American-occupied Germany. Anti-semitism, too, is known to be strong historically among Hessian farmers. Small towns (under 10,000) contained larger proportions of anti-semites than did cities, and farmers reported a greater proportion of such undemocratic people than any other group examined. Among other occupational groups, the greater the specialization of work the fewer anti-semitic members were found. Between the unemployed or the laborers and those classified as professional workers a difference of 20% in proportion of democratic replies could be observed. Families with the lowest wages were also ill-disposed toward Jews more frequently than were families with higher incomes. Politically apathetic respondents, who could not name a party which they preferred, more frequently upheld the anti-semitic side, as did the more poorly educated within the population, and the women. On the other hand, relatives of former members of the NSDAP, as well as people under 30 years old, and the very old (over 70) also upheld the Hitlerite line of attack on the Jews.

Anti-semitism, thus, was expressed by somewhat distinct population groups -- by the alert but heavily indoctrinated young who grew up with National Socialist propaganda, by the unintelligent or unthinking who undoubtedly vented their stereotypical thinking in their replies, by the poor who stood to gain from expropriation when they had nothing to lose, by the farmers who probably channellized, some dislike of city-folk in dislike of the Jews, and, of course, by the frustrated relatives of former Party members.

Table V.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO ANTI-SEMITISM SCALE.

Above and below average scores of some of these groups are shown in the table below.
Average score: 33% answered all four of the statements in a democratic direction.

Above Average Scores		Below Average Scores	
52%	Education: 12 or more years	22%	Occupation: Farmer
46	Occupation: Professional	22	Status: Widowed
46	Occupation: Business	23	Home: Gross Hessen
45	Residence: Largest cities	24	Party Preference: None
45	Status: Soldier, not a PW	24	Occupation: Laborer
44	Men		
43	Residence: 10,000 to 100,000		

SCALE: WAR-MILITARISM.

Five statements were found to be sufficiently interrelated so that they could be thought to test attitudes within a similar area. Each statement generally evoked a democratic response on the part of a large majority of the population. However, less than half the people responded in this direction to all five statements, and at least one-fifth of the general population held that democracy weakens a nation. It can be said that the German people largely dislike the consequences of war but an important minority is not yet ready to speak for democracy when it is a question of values other than military. Indeed, it can also be said that democracy, as represented by the United States, is regarded as a strong military form of government.

Table VI.

STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ATTITUDES TOWARD WAR AND MILITARISM.

	% "Democratic replies"
Only by war can the human spirit be glorified....	95
Fear is natural, and those people showing fear when faced with a dangerous situation should be treated with understanding	94
A civilian is a lower person than a member of the Army	89
The strength of a nation is weakened by democracy	83
The greatest strength of American democracy is not based on its military power	55

+++ +++ +++

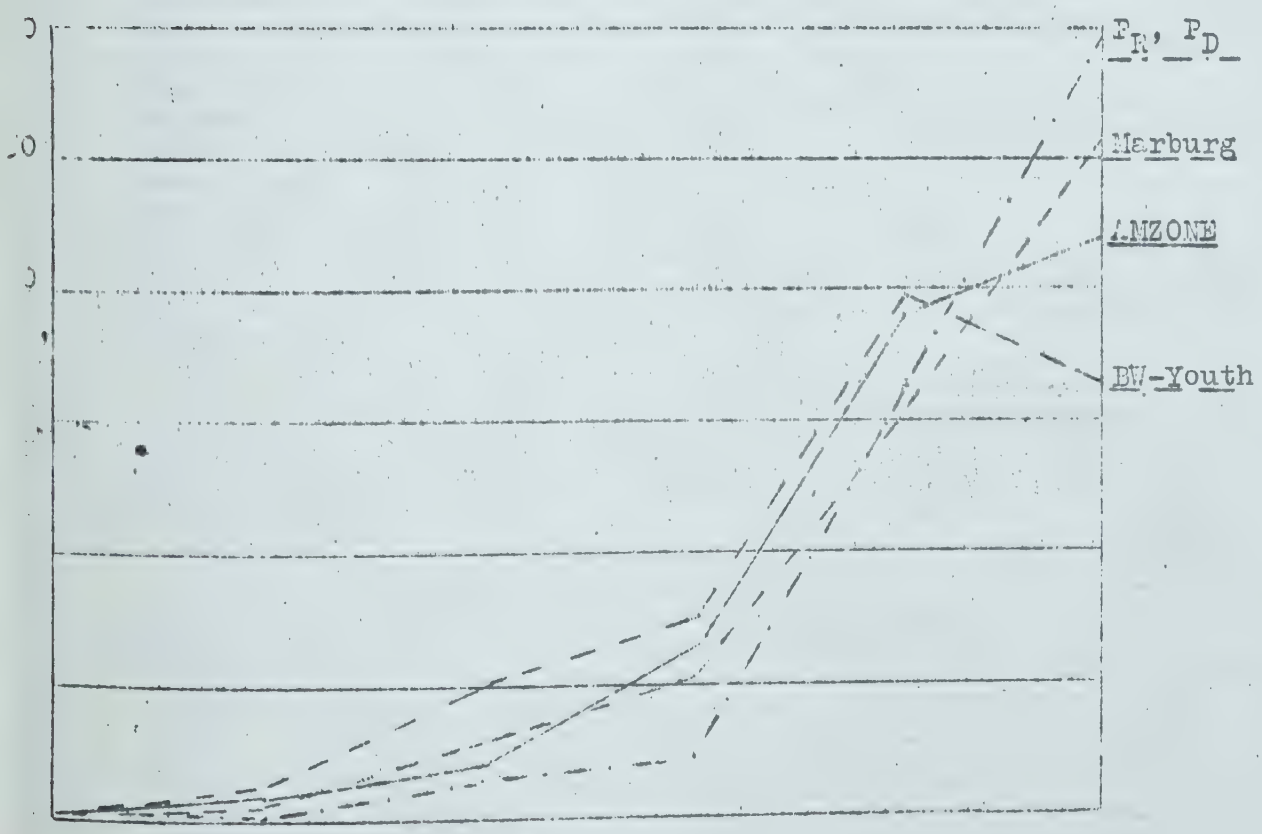
All five statements	43
Four only	23
Three only	13
Two only	4 plus
One only	1 plus
None	Less than 1/2 of 1%
	100%

Since the two most critical questions in this scale both dealt with "democracy", or an evaluation of democracy, it must be remembered that the discussion of the "Flattery(?)" scale showed that the more truthful a person was (that is, the less frequently he flattered the Allies) the more frequently did he maintain that a nation is not weakened by democracy and that the greatest strength of a democracy is not its military might. (Less than half as many (30%) who flattered the Allies on all five questions testing truth of response, as flattered us on none of the questions (64%) accepted the

democratic response on these questions evaluating war and militarism.) If it is assumed that the "Flattery(?)" scale tests truth of response the situation must be even more variant than that discovered. If, on the other hand, (and this seems to be the more reasonable situation) the "Flattery(?)" scale tests an attitude toward world affairs, and a dispositional frame of reference, this situation is clearly shown in the results just discussed.

Wide variations in the distributional curve along this scale were found among the replies of the separate sample groups (Chart VI). The most militaristic lot were the youth of Württemberg-Baden, the least were the political prisoners. Those prisoners who were slated for release were somewhat less war-minded than were those who were to be retained. The disparity between the answers of the Marburg students and the youth throughout Land Baden-Württemberg was very marked. Evidently the superior educational status of the former counted heavily in turning them against placing any high value upon war or the glories of war.

Chart VI.
War, Militarism Scale.



Within the Zonal population some wide differences between distinct groups can be observed in regard to their attitudes toward war and militarism. Those areas which have suffered the effects of war and bombing, particularly, were less inclined to accept militaristic values. Thus Hessians more than Bavarians held democratic dispositions on this scale, and residents of the large cities, such as Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich, differed largely from residents of small communities under 2,000 in population. The greatest frequency of militaristic attitudes was found among farmers.

On the other hand, more soldiers who had not been taken prisoner (presumable these can be said to include many Volkssturm -- older amateur soldiers) were non-militaristic than were former prisoners of war. And more widows, who had suffered the deprivation of their husbands as breadwinners and companions, were disposed to glorify war and war-making than were married people. In fact, women in general seemed to admire militaristic values more frequently than did men. Youth, too, could not be said to have given up the values of militarism in as large proportions as older people. Especially those youth who are less than 20 years old, but also the middle aged below 50, more frequently than older people, went along with the suggested justifications for making war.

A high degree of correlation between educational attainment and anti-militarism was found. The more years of schooling people had the more likely they were to stand against the use of military power. Whereas little, but still a positive, difference, could be remarked between those who had attended school for seven years and those who had had eight years of training, the group with a greatly increased anti-militaristic outlook was that which had gone through 12 or more years training. The same direction of difference occured among income groups. Here the population seemed to divide into the group with more than average (about 35 RM per family per week) income and those with less than the average. Higher income, of course, is highly correlated with better educational status.

In regard to NSDAP affiliation, former PGs proved to be inclined to accept less frequently a militaristic ideology. But the group which had not belonged to the Party, but who had had family members who belonged, stood on the other side of the issue.

The characteristics of the groups with separate political party affiliations are interesting and undoubtedly important. Sharply different in orientation were two groups: those who preferred the Communist party and those who liked "none" of the parties. Both these segments of the population upheld militarism to a greater degree than any other party group. It can be suspected that it is difficult to hold a revolutionary ideology and at the same time oppose the use of force. The group with no party preference includes the apathetic and unthinking, naturally, but also those who stand bitterly against the results of the loss of National Socialism and who react negatively to the insinuation of a multi-party system within Germany. Above and below average scores of some population groups are shown in the table below.

Table VII.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO WAR, MILITARISM SCALE.

Average Score: 43% Answered All Five Statements in a Democratic Direction.

Above Average		Below Average	
69%	Occupation: Professional	22%	Occupation: Farmer
63	Education: 12 or more years	27	Age: Under 20 years
61	Status: Soldier, non PW	27	Income: 1-19 RM per week
59	Occupation: Unemployed	30	Party Preference: None
58	Income: 50-69 RM per week	31	Party Preference: KPD
54	Income: 100 or more RM per week	31	Home: Silesia
54	Income: 41-49 RM per week	35	Age: 70 or older
54	Age: 50-59	35	Women
53	Status: Former PG	35	Income: 30-35 RM per week

The Ethics and Justice (Social Responsibility) Scale.

This scale shows the German public in a better light, but within it serious exceptions need to be made to a first favorable impression. For, while nearly everybody questioned agreed that "right is better founded on justice than on might", specific implementations of such a moral credo are not so widely upheld. Table VIII below shows the statements whose interrelationship was upheld by analysis alone with the proportions of "democratic" replies to these statements.

Table VIII.

STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ETHICS AND JUSTICE (SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY) ATTITUDES AND PROPORTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

	%
Right is better founded on justice than on might..	96
Every German leader who ordered the murdering of civilians or prisoners or who took part in such actions should stand trial as a criminal	94
A man should join that political party which most nearly represents his own persuasion	91
It was wrong to force foreigners to work in German factories	86
During the war it was justified to force foreigners to work in German factories	76
Because Germany was not responsible for the war, German leaders should not be put on trial as war criminals	56

+++ +++ +++

All six statements	39
Five only	34
Four only	16
Three only	7
Two only	3
One only	1
None at all	Less than 1/2 of 1%
	100%

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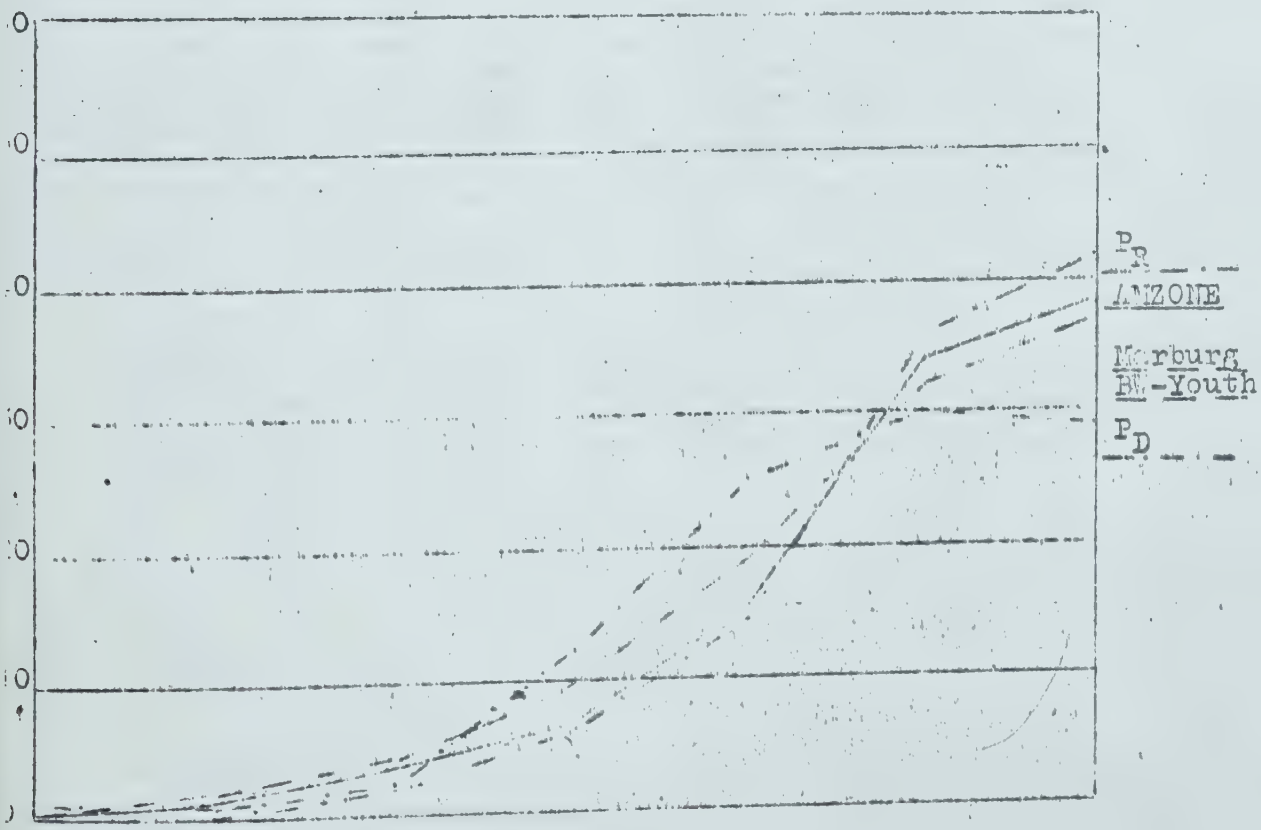
Among the populations separately sampled differences in attitudes between the released and detained political prisoners can be remarked while the responses of Berliners were much more acceptable than those of all the others (Chart VII). The interpretation is offered that the detained political prisoners were, in effect, asked to charge themselves with continued detention and, perhaps, more serious punishment. The prisoners about to be released, on the other hand, were in a position to say that punishment was deserved since the expiation of their crimes had been accomplished.

The more stringent adherance to moral principles on the part of the Berlin population sampled probably reveals some contempt for the leadership furnished by the Nazi regime and a distrust of authoritarian leadership in general. In addition, however, it should be recognized that a greater political awareness on the part of this large city population means as well a greater acceptance of political responsibility on their part.

Chart VII.
Ethics, Justice
Scale.



Such a factor is also revealed in the separate dispositions of the groups within the American Zone population which were examined. For instance, among those who expressed a preference for a political party only the LDP supporters gave fewer than the average democratic responses to all six questions. And among the SPD and CDU followers nearly half (45% and 46% respectively) replies democratically to all six questions. But only one third (33%) of those who liked none of the parties now licensed in Germany answered similarly.

Like differences appeared between the more poorly educated and the better educated, those with below average and those with above average incomes, the residents of small towns and the residents of large communities, between women and men. In each of the second instances more than average proportions held responses tending toward a democratic disposition. Practically half the people polled in Social Democratic Gross Hessen spoke in a democratic vein to all six questions, too.

However, those whose income derived from business sources (independent businessmen and their dependents) returned a much smaller proportion of democratic responses (37%) than their high educational and income status would lead one to expect. It seems likely that their rather intimate relations with factory production led them to justify, more frequently than other groups, the manner of use of displaced workers. They, too, have historically been political opportunists in Germany. In direct contrast, the families depending upon professional employment, or on the income of officials and higher white collar workers, were in a majority for a democratic disposition to all six propositions.

The younger half of the population (those under 40) were less frequently well oriented toward these statements than were the older members of the population. Those soldiers, too, who had not been taken prisoner -- the older, less well-trained men -- stood in larger proportions than the young former PsW on the democratic side. Far below the average score recorded on this scale were also found the widows. (See table below.)

Table IX.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO ETHICS, JUSTICE SCALE.

Average Score: 39% Answered all six Questions in a Democratic Direction.

Above Average		Below Average	
57%	Income: 100 RM or more per week	27%	Occupation: Unemployed
55	Occupation: Official and higher white collar	28	Home: East Prussia
53	Residence: Berlin	29	Income: 1-19 RM per week
52	Occupation: Professional	31	Status: Widowed
50	Income: 41-49 RM per week		
50	Residence: 100,000-250,000		
48	Home: Gross Hessen		

SCALE: FAMILY, WOMEN, CHILDREN.

The concurrence of attitudes toward seven statements were found to make this scale dependent upon a larger set of responses than any other scale. However, three of the seven questions scarcely discriminated among portions of the population since nearly everyone accepted them. The distribution of the population in the American Zone was skewed along this curve toward the democratic side. None in any of the sample groups was found who did not regard at least one statement democratically. On the other hand, all seven statements were so viewed by only about one in ten people, and only one-fourth more of the people in the Zone reacted democratically to six of the seven.

Table X.

STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ATTITUDES TOWARD FAMILY, WOMEN, CHILDREN AND PROPORTIONS DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

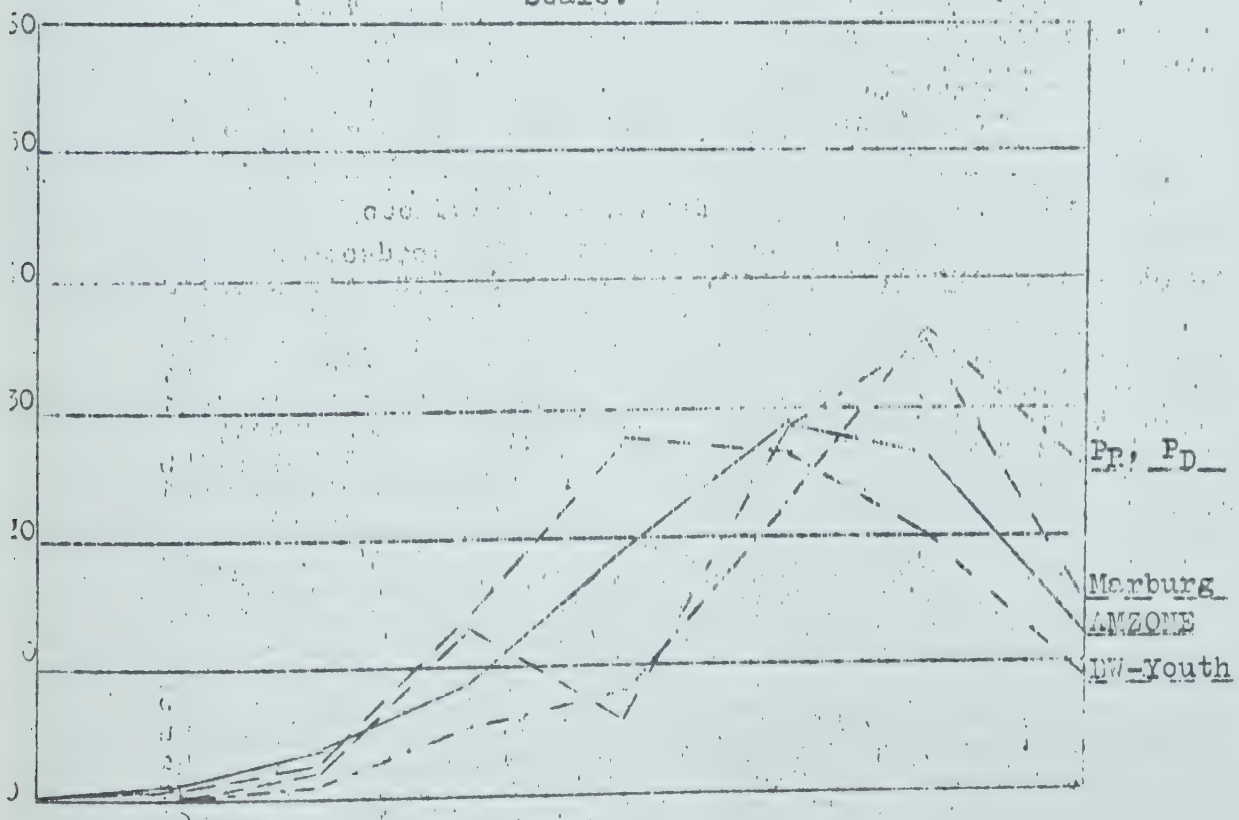
	%
Obedience to the father should be based on love and understanding rather than on tyranny	96
In a family a girl should have the same rights as a boy	93
Children need tenderness and affection from both mother and father	92
According to their abilities women should be allowed to have the same positions as men	73
Women should not be allowed to enter the professions (doctor, lawyer, or engineer)	62
In a family a boy is more important than a girl	54
Only men are able to govern a nation	34

+++ +++ +++

All seven	12
Six only	27
Five only	29
Four only	19
Three only	9
Two only	3
One only	1
None	-
	100%

Among the groups that were particularly sampled some marked differences were discovered -- differences that provide an insight into the divergent structure of the German population (Chart VIII). Both groups of political prisoners, for example, bespoke their higher than average educational status and broader outlook by returning the largest proportions of democratic answers of any of the sample groups. But it is among the youth of Germany that one might expect to find more serious evidence of Nationalsocialist indoctrination. And such expectations were borne out, but with reservations. The Baden-Württemberg youth were, without doubt, more often undemocratic than any of the other five groups. On the other hand, the Marburg youth could not be said to be more poorly orientated, and may even have been better disposed, than the general population of the American Zone. One might conclude, then, that certain types of youth in Germany did not accept without question the anthropocentrism of the Nazis, while the general body of youth were influenced by such propaganda. But such a conclusion is not upheld within the Zonal population. Here one finds more frequently democratic reactions to these questions among the very young

Chart VIII.
Family, Women, Children
Scale.



(under 20 years old) than among those 20 to 40 and more frequent democratic responses among those 20 to 40 years old than among those still older. The inference is suggested that factors other than age mainly determine the attitudes reported.

One such factor is found in place of residence. Hessians outstandingly favor the democratic side of the questions (54% answered six or seven statements in that direction), while residents of the other two Laender both reported lower than average proportions in these two categories. Towns under 5,000 and particularly towns under 2,000 seemed to contain larger proportions of people following the Nazi ideology than was true of larger communities. It must be maintained, then, that wherever traditional values and standards are followed without an opportunity for doubt to be cast upon their usefulness or importance they are more broadly accepted by the general populations.

Pointing up the finding in Bavaria, it must be observed that followers of the chief Bavarian political party, the Christian Socialist Union, tended to uphold democratic dispositions toward family, women and children less frequently than did followers of other parties. The replies given by these people, indeed, were nearly the same, percentage-wise, as those given by followers of "no" political party. Evidently, the form within which familial relations are cast is related not only to the social setting but also to the formal rituals acceptable in the sphere of politics.

Some occupational groupings cast forther light upon the complex of interrelationships under discussion. Professional workers, more than any other, accepted our family patternings. But independent businessmen, farmers and the unemployed held much more firmly to the teachings of the Nationalsocialist state. It is apparent, then, that not only are some people moved to accept Nazi ideology but that others found a reflection of their primary outlook on these matters expressed by Nazi ideology. For it can be assumed that traditional Prussian thinking was not brought to Germany by Hitler.

Finally, it should be remarked that the more observemt and better educated individuals in the American Zone differed widely from the least well educated group (those with seven or fewer years of schooling). These latter can be said to be the group with great restrictions upon their frame or reference. In this connection it must be remarked that the men who answered this questionnaire did not appreciably differ from the women on these propositions. Women, then, although more poorly educated, undoubtedly went along with the attitudes of the social group within which they found themselves, just as did the men. And the thinking of each group was determined to a large degree by the group's physical location and by the opportunity for observation of standards being practiced which differed from those traditionally observed within the community. (See Table XI)

Table XI.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO FAMILY, WOMEN, CHILDREN SCALE.

Average Score: 39% Answered Six of Seven, or all Seven Statements in the Democratic Direction.

Above Average		Below Average	
56%	Home: Gross Hessen	16%	Home: East Prussia
54	Residence: Gross Hessen	28	Occupation: Farmer
54	Occupation: Professional	29	Status: Widowed
51	Party Preference: KPD	29	Education: 7 years or less
47	Home: Silesia	30	Home: Baden
47	Age: Under 20	30	Party Preference: None
47	Party Preference: SPD	30	Occupation: Unemployed

SCALE: GOVERNMENT, DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITY.

A somewhat heterogeneous group of questions was originally used to probe into the many phases of attitudes within this field. Through analysis it was determined that distinct patterns were separated but that the probing into each [illegible] facet was barely adequate. The overall zonal picture of [illegible] of the scales shown here was scarcely distinguishable one from the other, and the same was true of the other two scales. However, the inner consistency of attitudes along each scale proved to be of high enough order so that it can be said that each of the four scales does search out separate, although correlated, attitudes. The curve of distribution of the zonal population over the two pairs of scales was distinctly different, however. One curve was heavily skewed toward "democratic" responses, the other, while also skewed on this side filtered out, in the end, a smaller set of democratic people.

Separate subclassifications have been made of each of the four scales. These subsidiary titles, the statements they represent, and the proportions of replies are shown below.

Table XII.

STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ATTITUDES TOWARD GOVERNMENT, DEMOCRACY, AUTHORITY AND PROPORTIONS DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

I. Necessity of Political Information and Percent Democratic Responses.

	%
Hilter and his government were criminals and misled the German people	91
It is the duty of a citizen to inform himself about his government and to take his part in the responsibility for its measures	81
The Communists and the Social Democrats should be suppressed	75
As long as the government takes care of all our essential needs we should not interest ourselves in politics	51

+++ +++ +++

All four statements	34
Three only	38
Two only	20
One only	7
None	1
	100%

II. Independent Thinking as a Value and Percent Democratic Responses.

Most people learn independent thinking through a good education	94
Books criticising the actions of a government should be published	83
Freedom of political parties creates disunity within a nation	63
The mass of the people are stupid and are not able to have their own opinion	52

+++ +++ +++

All four statements	32
Three only	39
Two only	19
One only	9
None	1
	100%

III. Fallible Leadership.

	%
In a good government, discussions of proposed legislation should not be limited	87
Sometimes it is necessary to make suggestions or to criticise official policies, even of a superior	86
Children are the property of the State	80
The mass of the German people profited most from National Socialism	68

+++ +++ +++

All four statements	48
Three only	30
Two only	16
One only	5
None	1
	100%

IV. Independence and Rights of Individuals.

The right of the worker to join a free trade union should be acknowledged	95
An education encouraging people to have their own opinion endangers the security of a State	81
The most important thing in education of a child is to develop his individual personality -- children should be individuals and not educated only for the State	80
The publication of no book that criticises a Government or recommends any changes in Government should be permitted	62

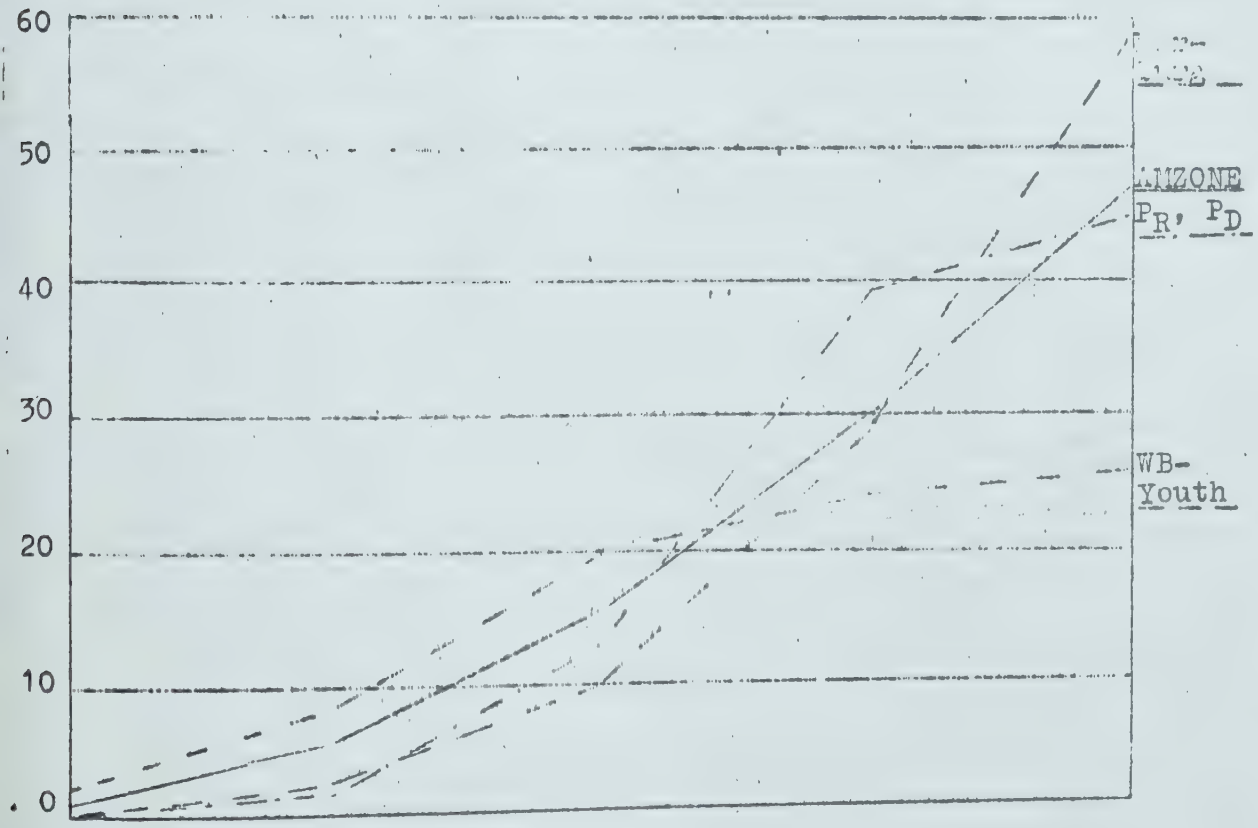
+++ +++ +++

All four statements	46
Three only	31
Two only	16
One only	6
None	1
	100%

Group differences within the two scales shown in Chart IX were fairly consistent. Within both scales, the Marburg students exhibited the most democratic attitudes of any of the sampled groups. Their replies were, in fact, distinctly different from those given by the youth of Baden-Württemberg. Both groups of political prisoners, on the other hand, reacted similarly to the two sets of questions. More than the average for the Zone, the prisoners held to the independence and rights of the individual, while they were not so ready to criticise political leadership as were people generally. Certainly such a finding does not outmage the suggestion that prisoners generally would insist upon individual freedom and that leaders would not as often question the value of leadership as would non-leaders.

Chart IX.
Government, Democracy, Authority Scale

III. Fallible Leadership
IV. Independence and Rights of Individuals.



Other population groups exhibited the patterns previously observed in felt attitudes toward democratic orientation. Hessians, large city residents, professional and higher white collar workers, the well-educated, men, the middle and better salaried families -- all these upheld in larger than average proportions the importance to them of individual rights and the distrust with which leadership must be viewed.

Among political preference groups, however, particular regard should be given to the responses of LDP and KPD followers. Solid majorities of the LDP supporters spoke up for individual rights and for the fallibility of leadership. Communist supporters, on the other hand, tended to follow the pattern of the unthinking who held no party preference. In view of the political maturity of the Communist group it cannot be assumed that their replies stemmed from the same type of apathy that could be said to represent the non-party people. Rather it might be interpreted that Communists indicated their willingness to subordinate the individual to the interests of the state and, indeed, to the desires of the leadership group within the state.

Sample group differences on the other pair of scales shown in Chart X differed from those portrayed in the previous

Chart X.
Government, Democracy, Authority Scale.
I. Necessity of Political Information. II. Independent Thinking

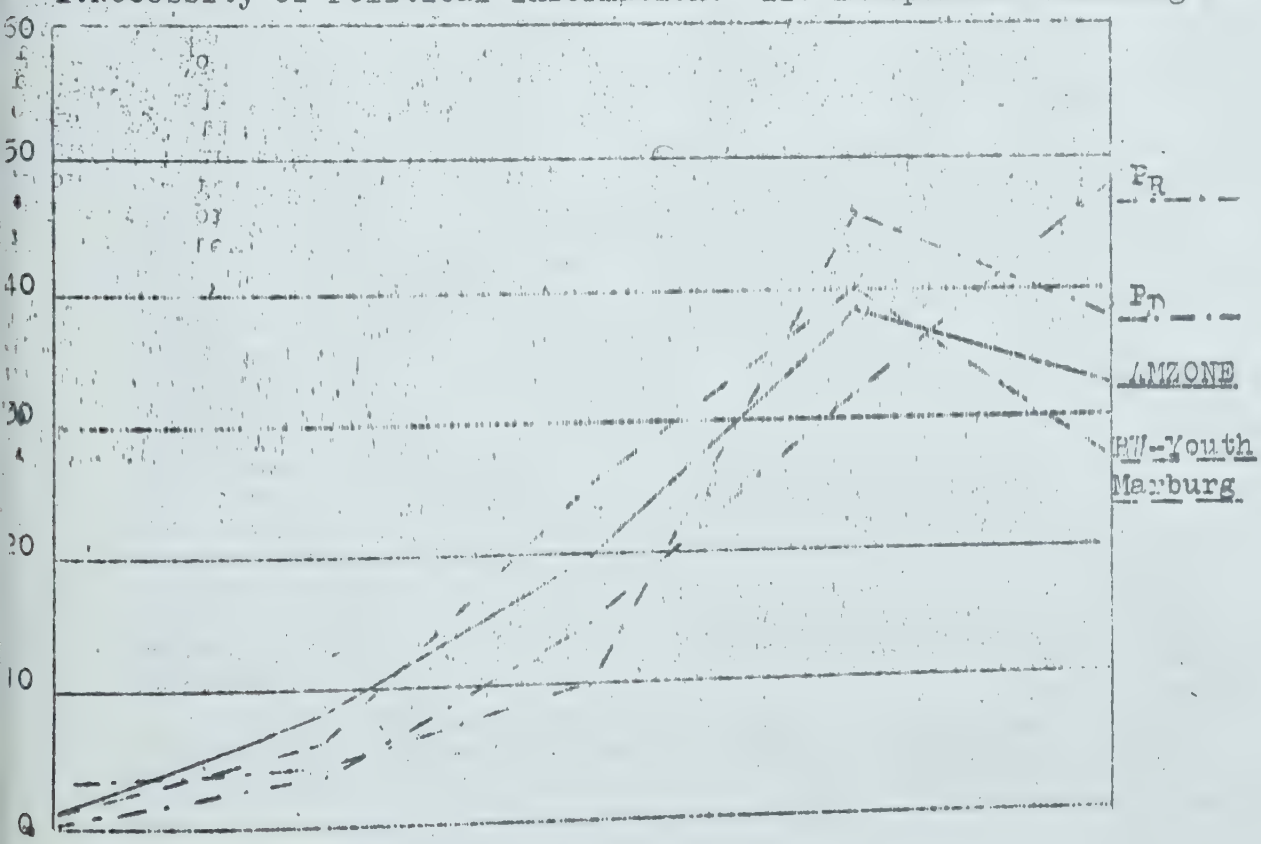


Chart. It is indeed somewhat surprizing to find the Marburg students expressing as little interest in the gathering of information about political matters by each citizen as is expressed by the youth in Baden-Württemberg. Most favorable attitudes toward critical observation of governmental affairs and toward the fostering of such criticism were exhibited by the released political prisoners. Both groups of prisoners held to the value of critical dispositions more frequently than did the average German citizen.

While most groups reacted as observed on the previous set of scales, two sets of populations -- religious groups and political preference groups -- merit special attention. Among the former, regular church-attenders somewhat less frequently than irregular attenders recognized the need to acquire political information. But it was the regular Catholics, particularly, who failed to speak up as often as did others to this end. In regard to the value of independent thinking, however, the reverse situation revealed itself: the irregular church attenders tended to be less favorably disposed than were the regular Catholics and Protestants toward this judgment.

The same reversal could be noted among followers of the KPD and the LDP. The former tended in larger than average proportions to uphold the acquisition of information while fewer than average LDP supporters tended to speak to this same end. But in regard to the scale testing attitudes toward the value of independent thinking, the Communists reacted with much more shyness toward this traditional democratic disposition in contradistinction to the reactions of the LDP followers.

In sum, then, it is apparent that verbal stimuli relative to individualism -- the independence and rights of individuals -- seem to be highly respected by the German public. That such values were often verbally approved by the National Socialists has presumably aided in predisposing Germans to place acceptance value upon such ideology. (E.g. Hitler urged in Mein Kampf that the "importance of the Person" distinguishes Nazi philosophy from other foreign philosophies. He could say that this "...therefore makes the individual the pillar of the entire edifice.") Leaders and the hallowed values of leadership were at the same time propagandized by the Nazis. But the German people today seem not to approve of uncritical acceptance of leadership as they seem to have done under Hitler. The eventful past year within which they saw the failure of their leaders, the accusation and documentation of charges against these men at Nuernberg, the imposition of an occupation force upon the governmental structure has undoubtedly induced some reexamination of their thinking along these lines.

But, although the German public seems to propose that the individual must be respected, and particularly respected when he is critical of leadership, they have not placed as

high a value upon the necessity of acquiring information about political affairs or the necessity of critical thinking about government. Appreciable minorities were shown to be very badly oriented in these directions, and a large majority of the whole population within the American Zone did not present a democratic response to all of only four simple questions probing critically into dispositions in these directions. It might be upheld, then, that insofar as the occupation powers set themselves beyond criticism, it cannot be expected that a people inured to such a stand by their own government will be moved to appreciate the values of criticism.

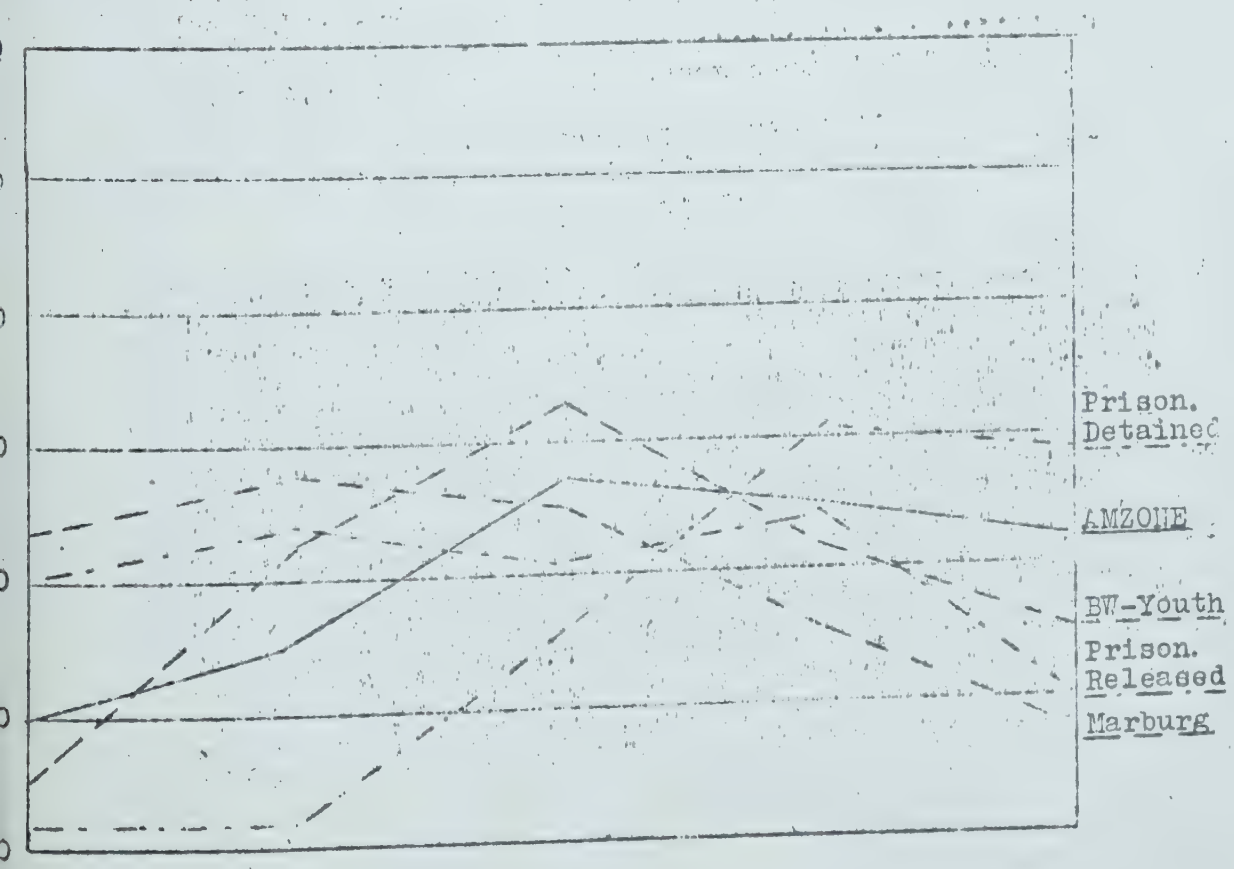
SCALE: PROJECTION OF GUILT.

Chart III described the distribution of the American Zone population on the proposition of the ascription of guilt to shoulders other than their own. Practically a two-valued population was depicted-- an appreciable minority seemed ready to accept fully the guilt for German misdeeds, while nearly an equal minority in no way was willing to do so. As a result, the population, judged in comparison to its response to other attitude scales, can be characterized as appreciably more "undemocratic" in this area of opinion.

Outstanding differences were observed among the populations separately sampled.(See Chart XI.) The ~~detained~~ released poli-

Chart XI.

Projection of Guilt Scale.



tical prisoners were much more ready to deny the guilt of the German people but, rather, put the blame more frequently on outside factors. Very much alike in response were the Marburg students. But among the students the situation was even more exaggerated. Less than one in ten (8%) refused on each of the four questions to place blame upon others for the misdeeds of the war, while almost one-fourth (23%) seized each of the four opportunities to do so. The youth in Baden-Württemberg, contrariwise, was largely ready to accept two propositions -- that Germany's attempt to rule others brought her misfortune, and that Germans killed and tortured millions -- but still held to the Versailles Treaty as basically responsible for this war and to the "lack of understanding of Germany" abroad as inducing difficulties for the German people. The four questions, and the proportions of democratic responses are shown in Table XIII below.

Table XIII.

ATTITUDES TOWARD PROJECTION OF GUILT AND PROPORTION DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

	%
Germany's attempt to rule other countries is the main cause of her misfortune	80
Investigations showed that the Germans killed and tortured millions of helpless Europeans	68
The Versailles Treaty was the cause of the second World War because it was too hard on Germany	52
Because other nations do not understand Germany, diplomatic relations are often strained	34

+++ +++ +++

All four statements	22
Three only	25
Two only	27
One only	16
None	10
	100%

One of the major forces within German society which has discussed at length the problem of individual guilt for the war and the atrocities committed during the war has been the Church. It has been constantly evident that variant orientations toward this problem have been held by the two major church bodies. Some of the repercussions of such a difference have been explored in previous surveys. (See especially: Attitudes Toward the Church and Religion as Political Factors in German Life, Surveys Branch, ODIC, June 7, 1946.) In view, then, of the history of the problem it is not surprising to report that Catholics, and particularly Catholics who irregularly attend church, were less frequently disposed toward the projection of guilt than were Protestants.

In Catholic Bavaria, however, the frequent acceptance of the democratic approach to this problem was apparent than in the other two Laender. It must be assumed that the accounting for this situation arises out of the dispositions of the larger proportion of poorly-disposed farmers and small-town residents within that Land as well as the strong regional pride which lends itself to a withdrawal from the acceptance of what is accountable to Germans.

Exhibiting again the results of the interrogations of the Marburg and Baden-Württemberg youth (particularly among youths 18 and 19 years old was this refusal to accept guilt remarked) it was found that among people over 50 there was less frequent inclination to cast blame upon others for the miseries of Europe than among younger people. It could be said, of course, that recognition has by now been given to the lack of involvement of these youth in the crimes of Fazism. However, the statements used to discriminate attitudes along the scale under consideration here go beyond refusal to accept guilt and extend into the realm of projection upon others or upon other situations the responsibility which rightly should be assumed by German society.

Many more women than men held to the nationalist assumption of German righteousness. This distinction particularly sharpened when the responses of the widowed are observed. Only half as many widowed as men failed to lay any responsibility, suggested by the four questions, upon others.

Readiness to accept responsibility for the actions of government was remarkably disparate within occupational status groups. Among white collar groups the higher the status the more readiness was discovered to accept responsibility. Among manual workers a similar correlation was discovered, with the skilled workers as frequently accepting the responsibility as did the professional workers. About as many fewer laborers, as lower white collar workers, went along with the "democratic" approach to the problem.

Political parties, as well as religious societies, have had much to say about "collective responsibility". Far more than the average for the general public were SPD and KPD followers willing to accept responsibility. More frequently did the right wing groups (particularly the LDP supporters) put off the guilt upon someone else. But least willing to stand for a part of the responsibility were those who had no party preference.

In fine, many Germans indicated that they felt that Germany had gone too far in attempting to rectify the "wrongs" imposed upon her after the last war. They seemed to believe that Germany had presented her case but other nations failed to understand the grievances she had suffered. It is apparent, then, that at the time of this survey there was appreciation among only a minority of Germans of the degree of responsibility which these citizens must bear for the deeds done in their name. They were ready to admit that Germany started an aggressive war, and prosecuted this

war atrociously, but solid minority blocs still maintained that the forces which drove them to these acts were grevious.

Table XIV.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO PROJECTION SCALE.

Average Score: 22% Answered All Four Statements In A Democratic Direction.

Above Average		Below Average	
34%	Occupation: Skilled Worker	9%	Party Preference: LDP
32	Income: 100 or more RM per week	12	Income: 1-19 RM per week
31	Party Preference: KPD	12	Status: Widowed
30	Age: 50 to 59	12	Age: Under 20
30	Residence: Largest Cities	15	Residence: 2,000 to 5,000
		15	Occupation: Unemployed
		15	Income: 20-29 RM per week

SCALE: FUTURE OF GERMANY (SUPERVISED RESPONSIBILITY).

The most negative set of responses recorded on any scale were given to this group of four questions. Within the American Zone only one in twenty persons answered in the "democratic" direction on all four questions, while one in seven answered "undemocratically" to all four. One in three persons went along half way and spoke in the approved direction to two of the four statements. Nearly six times as many of the Marburg students (23%) answered unfavorably to all four questions as did the Baden-Württemberg youth (4%). The statements and the proportions responding democratically are shown in Table XV.

Table XV.

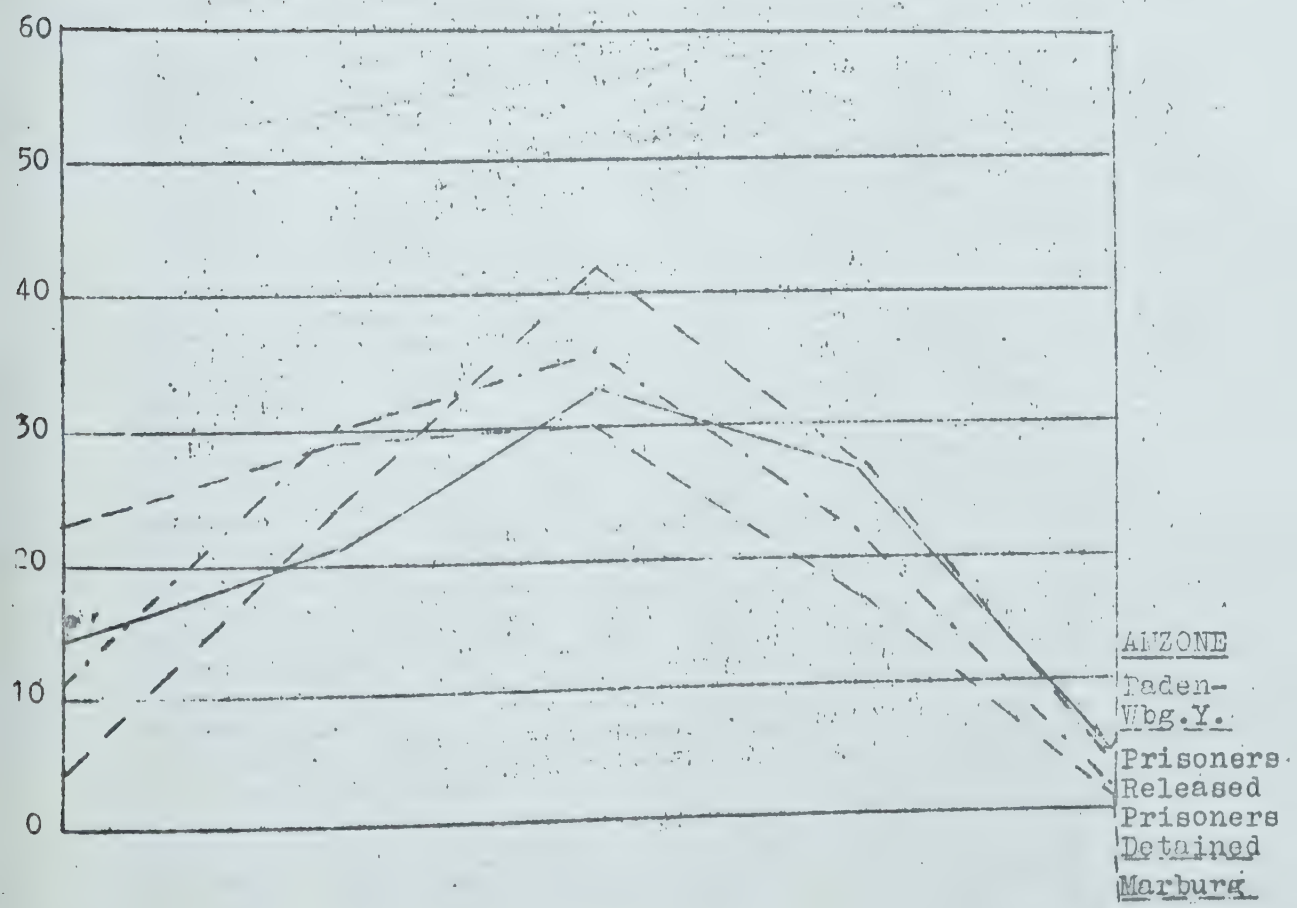
STATEMENTS USED TO TEST ATTITUDES TOWARD FUTURE OF GERMANY AND PROPORTIONS DEMOCRATIC RESPONSES.

	%
Responsibility for the reconstruction of Germany should be placed in the hands of the German people under the supervision of the Allies	75
Germany should be occupied for many years, until the German people are able to form a democratic government	69
Germans should be allowed to take care of reconstruction without interference from the Allied occupation forces	35
America should work at the reconstruction of Germany before she falls prey to Communism	10

+++ +++ +++

All four statements	5
Three only	27
Two only	33
One only	21
None	14
	100%

Chart XII.
Future of Germany Scale.



It is primarily apparent that few Germans were willing to negate the supposed threat of Russian encroachment. Followers of the Communist party, however, replied to the ultimate question in radically different fashion. In contradistinction to an average of 5% who answered all four questions democratically, and compared with a high of 9% of any other group (the best educated, residents of medium sized towns, and those with upper middle family incomes) a large minority (33%) of the Communists went along with all four statements.

Supporters of the SPD, too, more frequently approved three or four propositions than did supporters of the right wing parties or those who held no party preference. And similar variations are observable between city-size groups and between men and women, where it is known that residents of the larger cities, as well as the men, stand more frequently on the political left than do residents of smaller cities and women.

On the other hand, residents of Gross Hessen not only seemed to fear Russian pressure, but also seemed to be more frequently irked at the suggestion of supervised responsibility in reconstruction. "Interference" of the occupation forces is probably more real to the more sophisticated Hessians. Certainly in industrialized areas such as Gross Hessen it has been easier to see obstacles during the period when factories and their proposed output have been checked and reviewed.

The position of Catholics, as opposed to Protestants, on this scale may well be another reflection of this situation. Since most Bavarians are Catholic, and Bavarian production is more largely from the Dallas than is the production of the other Laender, it may be assumed that this same accounting partially explains the larger proportion of Catholics who accept supervised responsibility. It is interesting that Catholics who irregularly go to Church (and who tend to be more liberal politically) also tended to deny more frequently than other religious groups the imputation of Russian aggression.

Among occupation groups the same order of responses as was discovered in relation to the "Projection" scale was found here. Among office and white collar workers, the more specialized the work the more "democratic" reactions were exhibited. Similarly, from skilled craftsmen to laborers fewer and fewer democratic responses were found. It should be remembered, however, that cross-currents of motivation were undoubtedly present. Not only were factory workers depressed at the delay in reopening factories, but they were also somewhat more democratically inclined as trade union members and supporters of left-wing parties. (See Report Surveys Section: GERMAN ATTITUDES TOWARD TRADE UNIONS, 27 June 1946). At the same time, the older a person was the more willing he was to go along with the Allied conception of supervised responsibility. The amount of formal education, however, was not particularly important in determining such opinions. Thus it can be presumed with a measure of likelihood that people who were inclined to accept democratic principles were also inclined to desire freedom of choice and responsibility even more than those who were irked at the thought of subordinating themselves to the guidance of their "former" enemies.

It can be concluded, then, that Germany in the future is viewed by the general population with fear (possible Russian encroachment), with distaste (enemy occupation), with confusion (lack of comprehension of Allied policies), with annoyance (desire to have Germans administer German problems), with shyness (recognition of inability to assume authority). Out of such a welter of unfavorable impulses the populations sampled have responded most unhappily to probes into their acceptance of a state of responsibility under Allied supervision. (See table below.)

Tabel XVI.

SOME GROUP PROPORTIONS IN REPLY TO FUTURE OF GERMANY SCALE.

Average Scale: 32% Answered Three Or All Four Statements In A Democratic Direction.

Above Average		Below Average	
59%	Party Preference: KPD	17%	Home: East Prussia
48	Residence: 10,000-100,000	19	Party Preference: None
47	Occupation: Professional	21	Status: Widowed
41	Income: 100 or more RM per week		
41	Religion: Irregular Catholic		

SUMMARY OF GROUP DIFFERENCES.

Throughout the remarks above relative to differences in responses of various groups within the population of the American Zone it was evident that "undemocratic" responses were commonly given on a succession of scales by some groups, while other groups exhibited time and again more than average proportions of "democratic" responses. The list below presents the names of the population categories which, on most scales, were consistently pro- or undemocratic.

Usually Prodemocratic	Usually Undemocratic
Hessians	Residents of towns under 10,000
Residents of cities over 100,000	Less than 7 years schooling
More than 12 years schooling	Family member other than respondent was a PG
Between 50 and 59 years old	Less than 20 years old
Men	Women
Married	Widowed
SPD supporters	No party preference
Professional workers	Farmers
Income (family, RM, weekly): 70 - 99	Income: Less than 20 RM
Political prisoners	Youth in Württemberg-Baden
Marburg youth	

It must be recognized, of course, that to some extent the differences which appear are differences which are effected by the test itself. The more alert, the more intelligent, the more sophisticated naturally can be expected to have scored more "democratic" answers than the dull and unsophisticated simply because their comprehension is of a higher level. Still the fact remains that where the choice arose between a great variety of responses it was that element of the population, which reason would suggest to be more desirable, which actually proved itself to be somewhat better orientated toward democratic conceptions.

CONCLUSIONS.

The conclusions reached from the primary study of the prisoners of war in the United States bear quotation here. Dr. Krugman and his colleagues wrote: "If this study is any indication, the typical German, when faced with generalizations about democracy, will profess democratic and ethical ideals. However, when faced with specific situations with regard to the family, the authority of the father, the place of women and children, the Nazis, the German government, other governments or countries, and the like, reveal themselves to be anti-democratic. When given two aspects of a situation, they contradict themselves, when checked by truth items, they turn out to be untruthful. They profess great love for Americans and democracy in general, and pretend to believe everything the Americans do is right. They are strongly nationalistic, believe in the virtues of war and militarism, believe that Germany had nothing to do with starting the war, that other nations are at fault for Germany's plight, and that Germany should be left alone politically to work out her own salvation, but should be helped in material ways to restore her position among the nations of the world."

This stricture upon the political and social orientation of the German people was a suggested interpolation, it must be remembered, from evidence gathered among prisoners of war in 1945. Today, under totally different conditions the same test among the general population of the American Zone does not lead to quite as harsh a judgment. And the reasons why the interpolation is not wholly justified have become apparent -- young men, living in a closed system of National Socialist ideology, did not dare to cut off the nationalist roots which tied them to their Fatherland. In the data presented in this report such young men have been shown to be some of the sharpest critics of our way of life. When these young and alert people are amalgamated within the entire social structure of the society, the society is found to be much more solidly disposed toward non-Nazi values than are the very young. Indeed, among the most poorly oriented are those who have not yet reached their twentieth year. On the other hand, among these young people, those presently being trained for leadership capacities in the Universities

are among the groups best disposed toward our value systems. Whereas such desireable groups do not outweigh the less desireable elements the former seem to be consistently drawn from the leadership elements -- those elements which are in a position to assume leadership and are in themselves capable of doing so.

The broad structure which is untutored, narrow in outlook, apathetic or confused, remains a problem for the occupying powers as well as for the new leaders of Germany. Their weight is too great to be supported as yet by German democratic forces without outside help. Having denied ourselves the blindness of isolation, the seductive ease of colonial administration, the opportunities for the collection of reparations and monetary rewards for blood expenditures, and having set ourselves the task of finding the way toward the reconstruction a peaceful Germany in a peaceful world, we must not fail to recognize the extent of the problem ahead. The thought may constantly recur that "propaganda" in the Goebbels manner would in the end revitalize and reorient the dispositions of those narrow minds which are binding many Germans today to the world of the past. But a more positive future lies ahead only through the continued expansion of the frontiers of the German mind. The present leadership corps and the coming generation of German leaders will be overly eager to assume, with complete sincerity, responsibility for the nation's welfare. Our problem is to balance cooly their weight against the weight of the more poorly disposed women, the farmers, the small town residents, the poorly educated and the young. Until such time when the latter can be said to be ready to assume the duties of members of a democratic society wisdom dictates that we dare not desert the minority democratic elements within the German society.

APPENDIX I.

TABULAR RESULTS OF ALL QUESTIONS ASKED

(In the tables below the following numerical designations indicate the separate groups sampled:

1. U.S.Zone and American Sector, Berlin ..... 1470 cases
2. American Sector, Berlin ..... 182 cases
3. Youth, 17-27, Württemberg-Baden ..... 295 cases
4. Marburg University Students ..... 214 cases
5. Released Political Prisoners ..... 95 cases
6. Detained Political Prisoners ..... 84 cases

1. In a family a boy is more important than a girl.

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
1.	40	54	6	4.	21	73	6
2.	50	49	1	5.	20	75	5
3.	53	45	2	6.	22	71	7

2. The "right" is better based on justice than on power.

1.	96	3	1	4.	99	1	-
2.	98	2	-	5.	95	5	-
3.	96	2	2	6.	95	5	-

3. The word of the father has to be an inflexible law in the family.

1.	73	25	2	4.	31	65	4
2.	80	20	-	5.	53	45	2
3.	80	19	1	6.	36	56	8

4. It is a sign of weakness if a father shows his affection for his children.

1.	37	61	2	4.	9	90	1
2.	42	56	2	5.	16	84	-
3.	41	58	1	6.	11	89	-

5. Jews should not have the same rights as those belonging to the Aryan race.

1.	33	62	5	4.	21	73	6
2.	25	73	2	5.	27	71	2
3.	32	63	5	6.	29	65	6

6. Men and women should be allowed to marry without making any distinctions between the races.

1.	68	29	3	4.	51	47	2
2.	80	20	-	5.	75	24	1
3.	52	47	1	6.	63	37	-

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
7. In general, Germans are acknowledged as being the cleverest workers in the world.							
1.	54	39	7	4.	54	44	2
2.	63	34	3	5.	49	47	4
3.	62	33	5	6.	38	45	17
8. In a good Government, there should be discussions of legislation.							
1.	87	6	7	4.	90	8	2
2.	92	6	2	5.	94	6	-
3.	85	10	5	6.	87	13	-
9. Criticism of the government is not allowed.							
1.	35	55	10		20	77	3
2.	34	63	3	5.	51	48	1
3.	36	57	7	6.	38	54	8
10. Women should be encouraged to participate in government.							
1.	53	44	3	4.	37	62	1
2.	65	35	-	5.	66	34	-
3.	40	59	1	6.	77	21	2
11. The air forces of the Allies only bombed military objectives in Germany.							
1.	12	82	6	4.	3	97	-
2.	18	82	-	5.	18	76	6
3.	14	84	2	6.	15	80	5
12. The German people are responsible for the war and therefore have to receive the punishment for the crimes committed by them.							
1.	30	62	8	4.	15	78	7
2.	50	47	3	5.	23	71	6
3.	39	55	6	6.	10	4	8
13. A civilian is an unworthy (lower) person compared to a member of the army.							
1.	9	89	2	4.	1	99	-
2.	19	79	2	5.	8	92	-
3.	19	79	2	6.	5	95	-
14. The right of the worker to join a free Trade Union should be acknowledged.							
1.	95	5	-	4.	90	7	3
2.	90	7	3	5.	97	2	1
3.	89	7	4	6.	90	6	4

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
15. Only by war can the human spirit be glorified.							
1.	2	95	3	4.	1	98	1
2.	7	91	2	5.	2	98	-
3.	8	89	3	6.	4	94	2
16. It would have been much better for the Allies to have had a war with Russia instead of with Germany.							
1.	20	48	32	4.	77	16	7
2.	32	63	5	5.	40	43	17
3.	43	45	12	6.	39	34	27
17. The horrors committed by the Germans are an invention of the propaganda of our enemies.							
1.	12	70	18	4.	27	53	20
2.	18	76	6	5.	18	57	25
3.	18	68	14	6.	14	52	34
18. The strength of a nation is weakened by Democracy.							
1.	8	83	9	4.	14	80	6
2.	8	86	6	5.	6	92	2
3.	16	79	5	6.	7	89	4
19. The international bankers and communists belong to different races and countries.							
1.	80	6	14	4.	88	6	6
2.	84	9	7	5.	90	4	6
3.	78	13	9	6.	80	7	13
20. Austria is an independent unit and should be an independent state.							
1.	69	21	10	4.	25	71	4
2.	78	19	3	5.	68	29	3
3.	67	26	7	6.	51	41	8
21. The German people were the victims of a conspiracy by other nations.							
1.	19	77	14	4.	24	66	10
2.	29	68	3	5.	27	65	8
3.	34	59	7	6.	27	53	20
22. All Americans are very much interested in the well-being of the German people.							
1.	52	39	9	4.	16	77	7
2.	73	25	2	5.	66	26	8
3.	51	44	5	6.	54	27	19
23. Negros are members of a unworthy (lower) race.							
1.	30	59	11	4.	43	52	5
2.	28	67	5	5.	34	62	4
3.	37	56	7	6.	24	63	13

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
24. Children are the property of the State.							
1.	17	80	3	4.	12	85	3
2.	26	74	-	5.	15	84	1
3.	28	70	2	6.	17	75	7
25. To save the German people it was necessary to treat them very harshly and to put many to death.							
1.	27	62	11	4.	29	60	11
2.	39	58	3	5.	12	81	7
3.	36	58	6	6.	27	62	11
26. An education encouraging people to have their own opinion is dangerous to the security of a State.							
1.	13	81	6	4.	4	95	1
2.	21	76	3	5.	3	96	1
3.	21	75	4	6.	6	94	-
27. The experience of enduring bombing and shell-fire steels a man's character.							
1.	26	67	7	4.	40	50	10
2.	32	65	3	5.	14	82	4
3.	38	59	3	6.	19	70	11
28. Germany should be occupied for many years, until the German people are able to form a democratic government.							
1.	69	23	8	4.	41	55	4
2.	79	19	2	5.	48	46	6
3.	69	27	4	6.	54	40	6
29. It is possible that musical composition can be wonderful in spite of the descent (race) of the composer.							
1.	91	5	4	4.	98	1	1
2.	95	2	3	5.	95	5	-
3.	87	12	1	6.	91	5	4
30. In all probability foreign nations and races are enemies; therefore, one should be prepared at all times to attack them first.							
1.	10	82	8	4.	17	78	5
2.	15	83	2	5.	5	94	1
3.	19	78	3	6.	4	95	1
31. Germany should be allowed to have an army in order to be able to defend herself against aggression from other European nations.							
1.	44	47	9	4.	79	17	4
2.	41	58	1	5.	54	36	10
3.	54	42	4	6.	54	34	12

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
32. According to their capacities women should be allowed to have the same position as men.							
1.	73	25	2	4.	79	20	1
2.	88	11	1	5.	80	20	-
3.	68	31	1	6.	85	14	1
33. Jews have always demostrated that they are cleverer than Germans.							
1.	38	50	12	4.	21	73	6
2.	48	48	4	5.	55	29	16
3.	32	59	9	6.	48	31	21
34. The publication of no book that criticises a government or recommends any changes in Government should be permited.							
1.	29	62	9	4.	11	86	3
2.	35	62	3	5.	27	68	5
3.	36	59	5	6.	25	68	7
35. Hitler and his government were criminals and misled the German people.							
1.	91	5	4	4.	79	15	6
2.	95	4	1	5.	70	19	11
3.	85	11	4	6.	57	24	19
36. National Socialism permitted cartels and monopolies which made millions - such as the Krupp industries.							
1.	83	5	12	4.	80	8	12
2.	89	6	5	5.	70	12	18
3.	82	8	10	6.	67	8	25
37. It is not necessary that children obey rules as strictly as adults.							
1.	55	42	3	4.	37	58	5
2.	46	54	-	5.	42	55	3
3.	49	49	2	6.	48	48	4
38. The Versailles Treaty was the source of the Second World War because it was too hard on Germany.							
1.	32	52	16	4.	62	31	7
2.	40	53	7	5.	39	53	8
3.	46	45	9	6.	42	44	14
39. Ambition for personal fame does not show that a person has a good character.							
1.	52	43	5	4.	49	46	5
2.	55	43	2	5.	64	34	2
3.	50	47	3	6.	50	43	7

40. As long as the government takes care of all our essential needs we should not interest ourselves in politics.

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
1.	44	51	5	4.	15	82	3
2.	52	48	-	5.	40	60	-
3.	39	59	2	6.	25	69	6

41. A man who shows no heroism or courage is unworthy (he is a lower person).

1.	7	91	2	4.	7	92	1
2.	12	88	-	5.	2	98	-
3.	16	83	1	6.	5	94	1

42. A man fearing to confront a difficult situation should be severely punished.

1.	18	76	6	4.	15	81	4
2.	28	71	1	5.	14	85	1
3.	32	65	3	6.	13	85	2

43. Because other nations do not understand Germany, diplomatic relations are often strained.

1.	53	34	13	4.	83	15	2
2.	49	47	4	5.	76	20	4
3.	56	38	6	6.	72	21	7

44. Very few Germans have shown understanding or inclination toward democracy, as has been demonstrated during the last 50 years.

1.	63	22	15	4.	73	17	10
2.	73	21	6	5.	58	37	5
3.	64	28	8	6.	64	30	6

45. The education of children should not be based on military principles.

1.	60	38	2	4.	62	36	2
2.	67	33	-	5.	62	38	-
3.	54	46	-	6.	59	39	2

46. It was very wrong to force foreign workers to work in German factories.

1.	86	9	5	4.	68	28	4
2.	90	8	2	5.	92	6	2
3.	81	16	3	6.	75	15	10

47. All those who ordered the murdering of civilians, or who participated in the murders should be made to stand trial.

1.	94	2	4	4.	94	3	2
2.	97	2	1	5.	97	3	-
3.	95	3	2	6.	94	4	2

48. The Communists and the Social-Democrats should be suppressed.

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
1.	15	75	10	4.	37	54	9
2.	13	85	2	5.	11	82	7
3.	26	64	10	6.	6	83	11

49. The mass of the people are stupid and are not able to have their own opinion.

1.	42	52	6	4.	63	32	5
2.	49	50	1	5.	32	67	1
3.	41	56	3	6.	32	65	3

50. It is very good for a nation to have several parties.

1.	77	18	5	4.	90	7	3
2.	74	25	1	5.	91	8	1
3.	60	35	5	6.	94	5	1

51. Democracy is a good form of government because it can develop a superior (stronger) armed force.

1.	38	44	18	4.	45	39	16
2.	52	41	7	5.	54	34	12
3.	24	67	9	6.	39	41	20

52. It is advisable for a man to join the party that is in power at the moment in order to secure the well-being of his family.

1.	20	74	6	4.	8	88	4
2.	29	69	2	5.	17	82	1
3.	21	74	5	6.	10	88	2

53. In the distribution of American food, the American Occupation Zone should top the list.

1.	60	33	17	4.	48	47	5
2.	69	31	-	5.	41	53	6
3.	65	32	3	6.	34	60	6

54. Americans should work for the reconstruction of Germany before she falls prey to Communism.

1.	82	10	8	4.	93	5	2
2.	82	16	2	5.	91	5	4
3.	83	10	7	6.	93	6	1

55. A German should never criticise an American.

1.	48	43	9	4.	27	62	11
2.	53	44	3	5.	64	25	11
3.	46	49	5	6.	48	39	13

56. Only a government with a dictator is able to create a strong nation.

1.	18	75	7	4.	25	82	3
2.	33	65	2	5.	5	93	2
3.	30	65	5	6.	8	91	1

57. Nothing can justify Germany's starting the second World War.

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
1.	47	38	15	4.	31	61	8
2.	50	48	2	5.	54	32	14
3.	38	52	10	6.	32	48	20

58. Investigations showed that the Germans killed and tortured millions of helpless Europeans.

1.	68	13	19	4.	59	28	13
2.	78	18	4	5.	46	27	27
3.	65	23	12	6.	38	30	32

59. Children should blindly obey the laws and orders established for adults.

1.	54	42	4	4.	43	53	4
2.	60	39	1	5.	33	65	2
3.	56	40	4	6.	23	67	10

60. The German people should not be made responsible for the mistakes of their leaders and should not have to pay the price of war.

1.	53	41	6	4.	71	26	3
2.	59	40	1	5.	54	43	3
3.	61	36	3	6.	63	25	12

61. That Russian Bolshevism is dangerous was an invention of Nazi propaganda.

1.	29	58	13	4.	3	94	3
2.	45	52	3	5.	19	65	16
3.	21	70	9	6.	8	78	14

62. The mass of the German people profited from National Socialism.

1.	27	68	5	4.	31	63	6
2.	42	55	3	5.	46	53	1
3.	38	57	5	6.	51	45	4

63. It was the aim of Hitler and his government to improve the situation of the German people.

1.	37	54	9	4.	58	35	7
2.	33	66	1	5.	81	11	8
3.	49	43	8	6.	90	6	4

64. It is a sign of weakness in a people's character to instigate a war.

1.	59	27	14	4.	58	32	10
2.	65	32	3	5.	66	23	11
3.	53	38	9	6.	53	30	17

65. Books criticising the actions of a government should be published.

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
1.	83	11	6	4.	94	5	1
2.	84	13	3	5.	95	5	-
3.	81	14	5	6.	95	4	1

66. The Americans should put all Germans with NS idea into KZ especially built for them.

1.	28	63	9	4.	8	87	5
2.	41	57	2	5.	9	84	7
3.	27	66	7	6.	11	84	5

67. Free Trade Unions would be the source of too much friction between menagement and labor and should not be allowed.

1.	25	64	11	4.	17	77	6
2.	30	66	4	5.	17	82	1
3.	31	61	8	6.	24	68	8

68. Women should not be allowed to enter the professions (doctor, lawyer, or engineer).

1.	35	62	3	4.	18	81	1
2.	31	69	-	5.	24	75	1
3.	39	58	3	6.	27	69	4

69. The Allies are absolutely justified in not allowing Germany to have an army.

1.	47	26	27	4.	29	77	4
2.	61	23	16	5.	38	38	24
3.	48	36	16	6.	32	27	41

70. A soldier has no claim to any special respect.

1.	49	43	8	4.	31	64	5
2.	54	43	3	5.	45	52	3
3.	41	55	4	6.	48	42	10

71. Our nation cannot assume that other nations will attack her if we are on terms with these nations.

1.	64	29	7	4.	60	35	5
2.	70	29	1	5.	75	24	1
3.	63	34	3	6.	78	20	2

72. The music of Jewish composers is unworthy (no good).

1.	8	84	8	4.	4	91	5
2.	7	91	2	5.	3	92	5
3.	15	78	7	6.	5	88	7

73. Only men are able to govern a nation.

1.	63	34	3	4.	68	21	1
2.	60	40	-	5.	46	53	1
3.	68	32	-	6.	44	48	8

74. The Germans should be allowed to take care of the reconstruction without interference from the Allied occupation forces.

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
1.	59	35	6	4.	73	25	2
2.	60	39	1	5.	58	38	4
3.	64	33	3	6.	64	29	7

75. A man does not improve his character through bombing or shelling an unfortified village.

1.	59	36	5	4.	74	23	3
2.	71	27	2	5.	72	26	2
3.	56	42	2	6.	56	37	7

76. Sometimes it is necessary to make suggestions or criticise official policies even to a superior.

1.	86	7	7	4.	95	3	2
2.	89	8	3	5.	96	1	3
3.	84	10	6	6.	89	6	5

77. There cannot be a better government than that in the U.S.

1.	45	34	21	4.	22	69	9
2.	60	34	6	5.	57	21	22
3.	44	41	15	6.	52	27	21

78. Seeking self-glorification by self-mortification is praiseworthy.

1.	10	78	12	4.	5	91	4
2.	15	81	4	5.	3	91	6
3.	16	79	5	6.	2	90	8

79. The best citizens of a country are those who, through their education, think first of themselves.

1.	13	83	4	4.	10	88	2
2.	22	77	1	5.	12	86	2
3.	18	82	-	6.	12	84	4

80. Citizens should not be allowed to criticise an administration because that is the duty of the governers.

1.	28	67	5	4.	6	91	3
2.	34	66	-	5.	20	78	2
3.	29	66	5	6.	17	75	8

81. Extermination of the Jews and poles and other non-aryans was not necessary for the security of Germans.

1.	59	37	4	4.	74	24	2
2.	85	15	-	5.	68	28	4
3.	55	43	2	6.	50	44	6

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
82. In a family a girl should have the same rights as a boy.							
1.	93	5	2	4.	95	5	-
2.	95	5	-	5.	93	6	1
3.	91	9	-	6.	99	1	-
83. It is the duty of a citizen to inform himself about his government and to take his part in the responsibility for its measures.							
1.	81	11	8	4.	88	8	4
2.	84	13	3	5.	85	11	4
3.	83	14	3	6.	87	8	5
84. In spite of the fact that a man may never have done an heroic deed, he can still be highly esteemed by his friends and neighbors.							
1.	95	4	1	4.	97	1	2
2.	97	3	-	5.	99	1	-
3.	94	4	2	6.	100	-	-
85. If a pure German marries a non-aryan wife he should be condemned.							
1.	10	85	5	4.	15	81	4
2.	6	93	1	5.	2	93	5
3.	21	77	2	6.	6	89	5
86. It has been scientifically established that there is no such thing as a superior people or a master race.							
1.	67	19	14	4.	62	31	7
2.	72	23	5	5.	75	13	12
3.	64	28	8	6.	67	21	12
87. The most important thing in educating a child is to develop his individual personality (they should be individuals and not educated only for the State).							
1.	80	13	7	4.	92	5	3
2.	81	17	2	5.	93	5	2
3.	75	17	18	6.	80	15	5
88. Allied soldiers have always acted correctly toward German civilians.							
1.	51	42	7	4.	6	92	2
2.	47	50	3	5.	46	40	14
3.	42	56	2	6.	34	53	13
89. Fear is natural, and those people showing their fear when faced with a dangerous situation should be treated with understanding.							
1.	94	4	2	4.	92	8	-
2.	99	1	-	5.	99	1	-
3.	93	6	1	6.	97	2	1

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
90. The other European Nations had no intention of attacking Germany; they had to defend themselves against the German attack.							
1.	67	15	18	4.	32	62	6
2.	76	15	9	5.	42	35	23
3.	54	34	12	6.	39	34	27
91. Germany's attempt to rule other countries is the main cause of her misfortune.							
1.	80	12	8	4.	55	41	4
2.	89	9	2	5.	59	34	7
3.	77	19	4	6.	55	31	14
92. Territories such as Danzig, Sudetenland and Austria should be part of Germany proper.							
1.	52	36	12	4.	85	11	3
2.	58	38	4	5.	59	35	6
3.	60	31	9	6.	67	24	9
93. A nation's rights are determined by that nation's power.							
1.	30	58	12	4.	60	33	7
2.	36	61	3	5.	19	74	7
3.	48	46	6	6.	29	65	6
94. The weakness of most Western European Schools is based on the lack of military discipline.							
1.	13	66	21	4.	14	72	14
2.	18	76	6	5.	3	89	8
3.	18	71	11	6.	5	87	8
95. This war was caused by a conspiracy between the International Bankers and the Communists.							
1.	18	62	20	4.	28	65	7
2.	21	71	8	5.	13	65	17
3.	21	65	14	6.	10	60	30
96. During the war it was justified to have foreigners work as slave labor in German factories.							
1.	19	76	5	4.	39	54	7
2.	15	82	3	5.	14	82	4
3.	28	68	4	6.	27	61	12
97. Negros have the same abilities as other races.							
1.	57	28	15	4.	26	65	9
2.	74	20	6	5.	51	36	13
3.	56	38	6	6.	41	36	23
98. Children need tenderness and affection from both mother and father.							
1.	92	7	1	4.	93	7	-
2.	95	4	1	5.	91	6	3
3.	82	17	1	6.	92	4	4

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
99. The Japanese killed by the atom bomb were criminals engaged in a conspiracy against the U.S.							
1.	18	58	24	4.	5	90	5
2.	38	52	10	5.	8	63	29
3.	15	71	14	6.	13	56	31
100. Germany was not responsible for the war and German leaders should not be held as war criminals.							
1.	32	56	12	4.	23	67	10
2.	29	69	2	5.	33	52	15
3.	31	59	10	6.	38	39	23
101. Obedience to the father should be based on love and understanding and not on absolute power (tyrany)							
1.	96	2	2	4.	97	1	2
2.	97	3	-	5.	100	-	-
3.	95	4	1	6.	96	4	-
102. It is important that all democratic elements in Germany be given freedom in political affairs (action).							
1.	79	12	9	4.	85	10	5
2.	86	12	2	5.	91	6	3
3.	71	20	9	6.	85	11	4
103. Jews should have the same rights as members of the Aryan Race.							
1.	85	10	5	4.	81	14	5
2.	90	9	1	5.	93	3	4
3.	81	14	5	6.	85	10	5
104. Freedom of political parties creates disunity within a nation.							
1.	28	63	9	4.	26	68	6
2.	38	58	4	5.	14	83	3
3.	48	46	6	6.	10	79	11
105. Most people learn independent thinking through a suitable (good) education.							
1.	94	4	2	4.	84	14	2
2.	98	2	-	5.	96	4	-
3.	93	6	1	6.	93	5	2
106. The greatest strength of the American Democracy is not based on its military power.							
1.	55	28	17	4.	64	29	7
2.	65	26	9	5.	76	18	6
3.	47	41	12	6.	66	23	11

	%Yes	%No	%No opinion		%Yes	%No	%No opinion
107. A man should join the political party which suits him best (likes best).							
1.	91	5	4	4.	[illegible]	--	1
2.	91	8	1	5.	92	5	3
3.	91	7	2	6.	[illegible]	1	1
108. The responsibility for the reconstruction of Germany should be placed in the hands of the German people under the supervision of the Allies.							
1.	75	19	6	4.	71	23	6
2.	86	13	1	5.	85	14	1
3.	76	22	2	6.	81	13	6
109. The countries who gave the Allies the most help, and who suffered most, should receive surplus food stuffs first.							
1.	74	17	9	4.	61	31	8
2.	77	21	2	5.	70	21	9
3.	65	32	3	6.	70	20	10
110. Germany has no musical genius to compare with the American Deems Taylor.							
1.	16	55	29	4.	5	88	7
2.	18	60	22	5.	16	50	34
3.	16	54	30	6.	12	41	47

APPENDIX II.

PROPORTIONS OF EACH SAMPLE GROUP RESPONDING TO SCALE STATEMENTS.

"Flattery(?)" Scale.

Sample Group	Percent Replying Democratically to Number of Questions Indicated					
	0	1	2	3	4	5
Marburg Students	-	1	4	11	57	27
Württemberg-Baden Youth	4	11	21	26	28	10
Prisoners Released	8	19	19	17	25	12
Prisoners Detained	6	17	25	25	20	7
Berlin	5.5	14	27	23	25	5.5
American Zone	7	16	23	26	22	6

Future of Germany Scale.

Marburg Students	23	29	30	17	1
Württemberg-Baden Youth	4	24	42	27	3
Prisoners Released	11	29	[illegible]	24	3
Prisoners Detained	11	30	38	20	1
Berlin	5	19	36	33	7
American Zone	14	21	33	27	5

Family, Women, Children Scale.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Marburg Students	-	2	13	6	29	35	15
Württemberg-Baden Youth	1	2	13	28	27	20	9
Prisoners Released	1	1	5	10	18	38	27
Prisoners Detained	1	-	6	6	27	35	25
Berlin	-	-	4	20	30	30	16
American Zone	1	3	9	1[illegible]	29	27	12

Ethics, Justice: Social Responsibility Scale.

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
Marburg Students	-	1	3	10	19	29	38
Württemberg-Baden Youth	-	-	3	8	18	35	36
Prisoners Released	-	-	2	6	14	36	42
Prisoners Detained	1	1	2	12	25	30	29
Berlin	-	-	2	4	11	30	53
American Zone	-	1	3	7	16	34	39

War, Militarism Scale.

	0	1	2	3	4	5
Marburg Students	-	1	6	11	31	51
Württemberg-Baden Youth	-	3	10	15	39	33
Prisoners Released	-	-	1	5	31	63
Prisoners Detained	1	-	4	4	34	57
Berlin	-	2	6	10	36	46
American Zone	-	2	4	13	38	43

Anti-Semitism Scale.

	0	1	2	3	4
Marburg Students	1	9	12	42	36
Württemberg-Baden Youth	2	10	22	41	25
Prisoners Released	-	3	9	43	45
Prisoners Detained	2	2	16	41	39
Berlin	-	2	14	52	32
American Zone	2	7	15	43	33

Government, Democracy, Authority Scale.

I. Necessity of Political Information.

	0	1	2	3	4
Marburg Students	1	8	27	41	23
Württemberg-Baden Youth	1	6	29	43	21
Prisoners Released	-	3	8	32	57
Prisoners Detained	1	2	5	48	44
Berlin	-	7	24	39	30
American Zone	1	7	20	38	34

II. Independent Thinking as a Value.

Marburg Students	1	10	16	36	37
Württemberg-Baden Youth	1	4	29	38	28
Prisoners Released	1	5	23	32	39
Prisoners Detained	4	5	15	44	32
Berlin	1	3	17	41	38
American Zone	1	9	19	39	32

III. Fallible Leadership.

Marburg Students	-	2	14	35	49
Württemberg-Baden Youth	3	11	22	28	36
Prisoners Released	-	-	13	48	39
Prisoners Detained	1	4	20	43	32
Berlin	1	4	20	38	37
American Zone	1	5	16	30	48

IV. Independence and Rights of Individuals.

	0	1	2	3	4
Marburg Students	-	2	6	23	69
Württemberg-Baden Youth	2	6	19	40	33
Prisoners-Released	-	-	6	36	58
Prisoners-Detained	-	4	14	30	52
Berlin	-	5	19	35	41
American Zone	1	6	16	31	46

Projection Scale.

	0	1	2	3	4
Marburg Students	23	28	25	16	8
Württemberg-Baden Youth	5	23	33	23	16
Prisoners-Released	20	24	21	25	10
Prisoners-Detained	2	2	16	41	39
Berlin	6	13	20	30	31
American Zone	10	16	27	25	22

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